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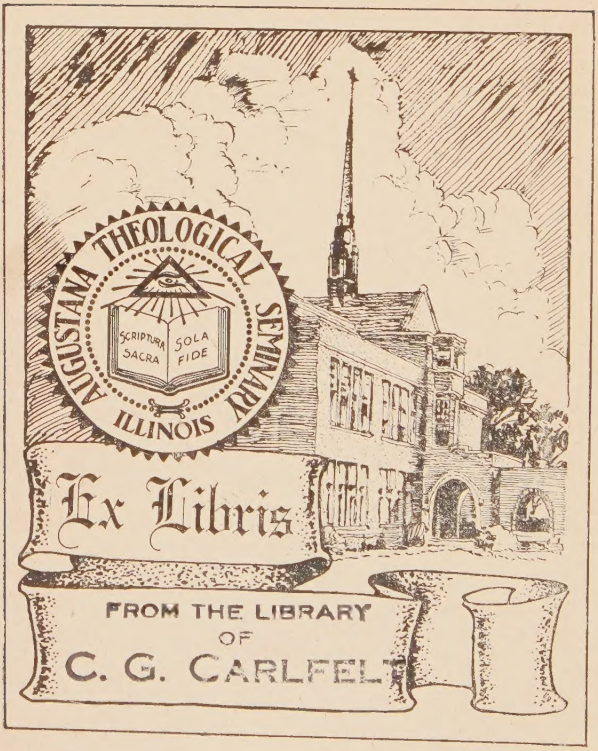
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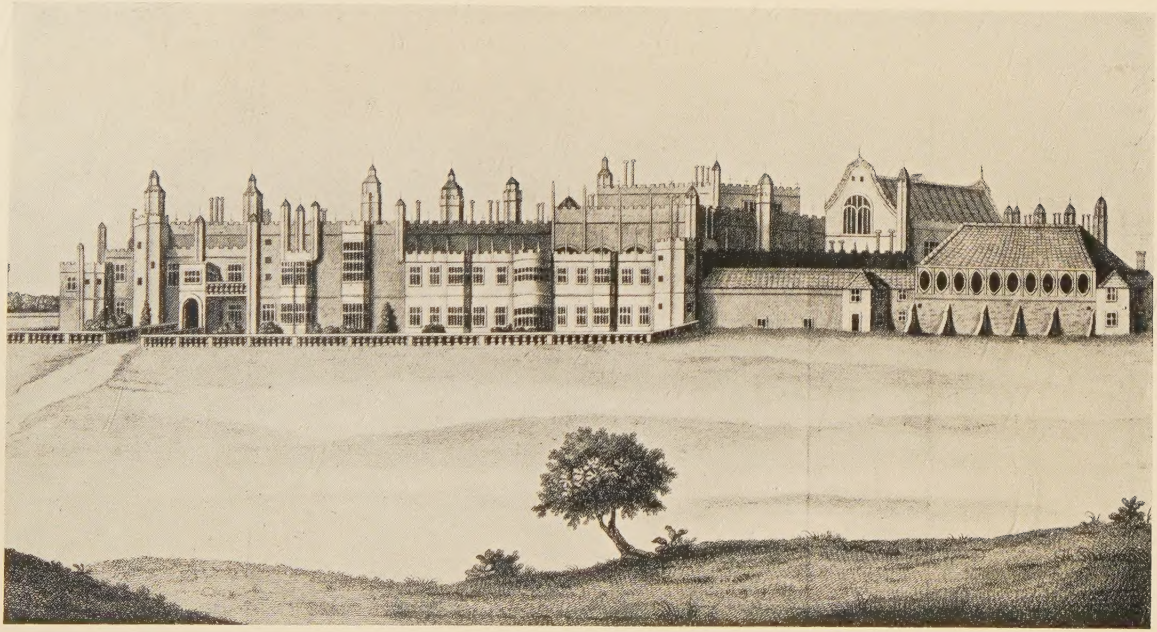

HAMPTON COURT

As built by Cardinal Wolsey and presented to Henry VIII. Part of an engraving after a drawing said to be by Hollar, published in the *Vetusta Monumenta* of the Society of Antiquaries.

THE ENGLISH CHURCH AND THE REFORMATION

BY THE

REV. C. SYDNEY CARTER, M.A., Litt.D.

SOMETIME RECTOR OF ASTON SANDFORD, BUCKS.
AUTHOR OF "MINISTERIAL COMMISSION,"
"THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY," ETC.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

SECOND EDITION

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FOREWORD TO SECOND EDITION

The ecclesiastical outlook of the Anglican Church to-day has altered somewhat from that of thirteen years ago, and certainly the orientation of numbers of her clergy has very considerably changed during this period. The traditional character of the worship of the English Church is being more and more obscured by the important alterations which are constantly being made in her public services. Liturgical changes, with definite and serious doctrinal implication, are being strenuously advocated, which if generally adopted will probably have a very fateful result, not only for the future of the Church of England, but also more indirectly for the whole Anglican Communion.

For those Churchpeople therefore who believe that historically the Anglican Church has a distinctive witness and position as the "Protestant Reformed religion established by law," the study of English Church history in the period known as the Reformation becomes increasingly important. We need especially to get a right understanding of the nature of the English Reformation, so that we can from a true historical basis, form a clear judgment on the vital question, which in reality lies at the root of most of our existing controversies.—Did the English Reformation consist merely in the repudiation of Papal supremacy or did it include the recovery and re-affirmation of

Scriptural and primitive Truth? Since the first edition of this book was issued much literature has been written on this subject based often on evidence from recent research and the publication of fresh original documents. It seemed opportune therefore to revise and slightly enlarge this volume, as far as possible consistently with its popular style and design, in the light of this new knowledge. It is obviously impossible within the necessary limits of space to give a fully comprehensive or adequate treatment of all the different aspects and phases of such a highly contentious period, but I have endeavoured consistently, however imperfectly, to deal with its salient features so as to present the main events of this supremely critical epoch in a clear and right perspective. My aim has been not only to give an outline of the Church life of the sixteenth century. I have also endeavoured to discover, from their own language and actions, the precise aims and ideals as well as the exact doctrinal position and principles of our great English Reformers as illustrated in their endeavour to restore the purity of the Catholic Faith in this country.

I am greatly indebted to Professor W. Alison Phillips, of Dublin University, for his kindness in carefully reading through my manuscript and for his many minor, but valuable suggestions and criticisms, especially as to the best sources of information for this period of history.

C. S. C.

Bradford-on-Avon.
Michaelmas, 1925.

PREFATORY NOTE

The crucial importance of the period described in these pages must constitute the only apology for attempting to add to the numerous histories of the English Reformation. The events which occurred in this momentous century, so vitally affected the character and position of the Anglican Church that the solution of the difficulties and problems which distress the Church to-day is largely dependent on the precise interpretation taken of the importance and significance of the changes which were then effected.

It is impossible, therefore, in dealing with such a highly controversial subject, to expect to escape the imputation of a certain bias ; yet in the following pages I have honestly striven to present in a candid and, as far as possible, impartial manner a popular outline of the chief events in the life and history of the English Church during the sixteenth century, a period so full of sudden and violent changes and reactions. I have endeavoured to draw my facts and conclusions, wherever possible, from contemporary evidence, or at least from well-accredited historians of the succeeding century, and where I have relied on the testimony or research of modern writers, I have always acknowledged my indebtedness in the footnote.

The references to the works of the Reformers are taken from the Parker Society's edition of their writings.

C. S. C.

Herne Bay,
September, 1912.

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1509. Accession of Henry VIII.
1512. Colet's sermon before Convocation.
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1517. Luther publishes Theses against Indulgences.
1525. Tyndale's English New Testament published.
1529–36. "Reformation" Parliament.
1529. Fall of Wolsey.
1532. The "Submission of the Clergy."
Act against Papal Annates.
1533. The Divorce of Henry and Catharine.
Act for restraint of Appeals to Rome.
John Fryth burned.
1534. Supremacy Act passed. Henry declared Supreme Head of the Church.
Papal Supremacy repudiated by Clergy.
1535. Execution of More and Fisher.
Coverdale's Bible issued.
First visitation of Monasteries.
1536. Tyndale burned.
Suppression of Smaller Monasteries.
The "Ten Articles" issued.
The "Pilgrimage of Grace."
1537. Matthew's Bible ordered to be set up in churches.
Institution of a Christian Man published.
1538–9. Negotiations with German Lutherans.
Cromwell's Injunctions.
1539. The "Great Bible" published.
Act of Six Articles passed.
1540. Execution of Cromwell.
Barnes, Gerrard, and Jerome burned.
1543. The "King's Book" published.
1544. The English Litany issued.

1547. Death of Henry VIII.
1548. Communion in both kinds authorised.
1549. First Prayer Book of Edward VI issued.
1550. New Ordinal published.
Altars removed from Churches.
1552. Second Prayer Book issued.
1553. The Forty-two Articles published.
Death of Edward VI.
1554. Reforming bishops and married clergy deprived.
Pole appointed Papal Legate. Reconciliation with Rome.
1555. Act of Repeal passed. Heresy laws revived.
Persecution of Reformers begins.
Hooper burned at Gloucester, Ridley and Latimer at Oxford.
1556. Cranmer burned at Oxford.
1558. Death of Queen Mary.
1559. Disputation at Westminster.
Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy passed.
Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions issued.
Parker consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury.
1562. Jewel's *Apology for the Church of England* published.
1563. Thirty-nine Articles drawn up.
1566. Deprivation of Puritan Nonconforming clergy.
The Book of Advertisements published.
1570. Elizabeth excommunicated by the Pope.
1571. Subscription to the Articles enforced.
1571–86. Romanist Plots.
1576. Archbishop Grindal suspended.
1583. Whitgift becomes Primate.
1585. Severe law passed against Jesuits.
1587. Execution of Mary Queen of Scots.
Marprelate Libels commence.
1588. Spanish Armada defeated.
1593. Severe Act against Puritans passed.
1594. Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* published.
1596. The Lambeth Articles compiled.
1603. Death of Elizabeth.

THE ENGLISH CHURCH AND THE REFORMATION

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Condition of Europe

THE dawn of the sixteenth century introduces us to one of the most critical periods in English and European history. It marked the rise, on the ruins of the medieval feudal system, of a number of States, based on a new theory of sovereign independence, and consequently destructive of the medieval ideal of a Universal Empire with the Pope as its spiritual and the Emperor as its temporal head. Such a conception was entirely out of harmony with the new spirit of nationality, already arising, which fostered the growth of the modern idea of strong and independent nations. But although this movement had been very greatly accelerated by the mortal struggle with feudalism which had occupied such a large part of the fifteenth century, yet the process culminating in the creation of the National States of to-day was only in its infancy at the time of the Reformation, upon the fortunes of which it often exercised a decisive influence. In the religious struggle the weight of the Empire (under Charles V approaching to something like universality) was thrown on the side of the Papacy; with which in theory it was so closely bound up. On the other hand the Reformation was a convenient ally for those feudatories

of the Empire who wished to establish their sovereignty. In Central Europe the struggle lasted till 1648 when the treaties of Westphalia practically ended the political authority of the Emperor, and Germany was split up into a large number of petty sovereignties, in each of which the religion established was that which the Prince elected to favour, (on the principle *cujus regio ejus religio*). As a shadowy ideal the Universal 'Holy Roman Empire' survived till 1806.

Collapse of Feudalism

In France and England the disintegrating force of an increasingly powerful semi-independent feudal aristocracy had succumbed to a new and more powerful monarchy personifying national unity and consolidation. In France, however, the protracted "Wars of Religion," although not in themselves inimical to, or concerned with this consummation, delayed and hampered its complete realisation. In England the practical anarchy entailed by a disastrous period of civil war led Englishmen, weary of this fruitless struggle between the Houses of York and Lancaster, to welcome the prospect of settled order and peace under the absolute rule of a new monarchy. Thus the termination of the Wars of the Roses with the battle of Bosworth Field enabled the Tudors to build up a strong and despotic government on the ruins of the old feudal nobility.

But the Tudor monarchy not only introduced a new political era, it also marked the commencement of an important crisis in religious and intellectual thought in England. In spite of her insular position, it was impossible that England should long be unaffected by

the change and general upheaval which Europe had been passing through during the last half-century.

The Italian Renaissance

The capture of Constantinople by the Turks, in 1453, had led to the revival of the study of the ancient Greek and Latin classics, and the birth of new ideas, especially in Italy, where the exiled Greek scholars were welcomed. Even before the fall of the Grecian Empire the study of Greek philosophy had become popular in Italy, especially at Florence, where learning and culture received the warm patronage of the wealthy and powerful Medici family. But the sudden dispersion of a multitude of Greek scholars, bringing with them the priceless manuscripts of ancient Greek literature which had been stored up in the Christian city of Constantinople, not only vastly increased the possibilities of acquiring Hellenic knowledge, but produced a perfect passion for Greek learning and literature throughout Italy. Again, the discoveries and explorations of Columbus and Vasco de Gama had not only stimulated trade and commercial enterprise, but had also revolutionised men's idea of the world and its inhabitants, while the invention of printing had vastly multiplied the facilities for acquiring and diffusing knowledge.[1] The Italian Renaissance had produced a general revival of learning and scholarship, and this stimulated thirst for knowledge led to a new scientific spirit of investigation and inquiry. This search after truth fostered a spirit of criticism which left no realm untouched, and soon revolted against the unquestioning submission to ecclesiastical authority demanded by the medieval

[1] The printing-press was far more extensively employed by the Reformers than by their opponents.

Church. In Italy, however, this revival was mainly confined within philosophical and æsthetic channels. It attacked the historical pretensions of the Papacy in a secular and cynical spirit of careless infidelity,[1] while it substituted for the stern asceticism of a past age the worship of the beautiful in art and the inordinate gratification of the senses. As the biographer of Savonarola tells us, " It was an age of doubt and superstition, of icy indifference and strange exaltation. Italians incapable of drawing sword in defence of their country willingly braved a thousand dangers in search of a manuscript; and believed in spirits, while doubting the existence of a God."[2]

The introduction of pagan philosophy was followed by the revival of pagan immorality, and the Italians " were content to gratify their tastes and their senses, caring little for worship, and still less for doctrine."[3]

There is no doubt that a modern authority is correct in asserting that " the revival of letters in Italy neither led to any activity of theological thought nor produced any religious reformation."[4]

It was only when the Renaissance crossed the Alps that this new spirit of inquiry took a more serious and dogmatic turn by attacking the theological teaching of medieval scholasticism; and when criticism also began to be applied to the historical basis of Christianity itself, the way was paved for the spiritual reformation

[1] " No one," said an Italian contemporary, " passed for an accomplished man who did not entertain heretical opinions about Christianity. At the Court the ordinances of the Catholic Church and passages of holy writ were spoken of only in a jesting manner; the mysteries of the faith were despised."—Quoted in Ranke's *Popes of Rome*, vol. i, p. 50 (1866, Austin).

[2] Villari, *Life and Times of Savonarola*, p. 64.

[3] Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 312 (1871).

[4] Beard, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1883, p. 39.

in Germany which soon followed. The attempt of the "Conciliar" movement, at the beginning of the previous century, to reform the Church in "Head and members," had proved abortive by its failure to enforce the principle of the supremacy of General Councils over Popes, but the Reformation which Luther inaugurated in Germany in the next century was a successful attempt to deny the necessity of the mediatorial work of the Church, and to assert the right of the individual to refer, not to the supreme authority of the Pope, but to clear teaching of the Holy Scripture as the final court of appeal in matters of faith. Thus the Renaissance in Northern Europe went further than in Italy in its endeavour to revive, not merely pure classics, but pure Christianity; the German "humanist" in his desire to restore religion to its primitive purity studied the Bible rather than pagan philosophy, and it was on this distinctly moral and religious side that the influence of the Renaissance penetrated into England.

But before speaking of the effect of this new movement there, it will be well to say something of the condition of religious life and the need that existed for a reformation in the English Church at this time

CHAPTER II

THE NECESSITY FOR REFORM

EVEN before the commencement of the Middle Ages a certain amount of corruption had gradually gained a permanent footing in the Christian Church, but from that time onwards gross abuses, both of doctrine and discipline, had rapidly increased throughout Western Christendom, and had often furnished themes for satirists and religious reformers. The spiritual revival effected by the Dominican and Franciscan movements in the thirteenth century had been very transient. Roger Bacon, in the same century, declared that "the new Orders are already horribly decayed from their first dignity. The whole clergy is intent upon pride, lechery and avarice."[1] An even darker picture is given in an official document, drawn up at the Pope's request, for the Council of Vienne in 1311, where Bishop Durand, its author, urges that "all wizards, diviners, public adulterers and other public delinquents *from among the clergy* should be publicly punished so that the rest should be afraid."[2]

It is generally admitted that by the beginning of the sixteenth century the Church had departed farthest from the simplicity of doctrine and worship which had characterised Apostolic and primitive times. There is ample evidence to show that the English Church fully

[1] Quoted Coulton, *Medieval Studies*, 1st series, p. 48 (1915).
[2] *De modo Generalis Concilii habendi*, p. 29.

shared in this general degeneracy. Religious devotion consisted mainly in external rites and observances. " The multitude of ceremonies," it was asserted, " was so great, and many of them so dark, that they did more confound and darken than declare and set forth Christ's benefits unto us."[1]

The Sacramental System

The spiritual aspect of religion had been largely obscured, and medieval Christianity had tended to become almost exclusively sacerdotal, sacramental, and spectacular. The clergy had virtually ceased to exercise a true " ministry," and acted instead as mediatorial agents between the people and God. Salvation had come to be dependent on the gift of the Church, and normally all grace and pardon came through the sacrifice of the mass and the sacrament of penance, both of which were dispensed exclusively by the priest. The Church " was the perpetual, the all powerful mediator between earth and heaven. Without her, there was no access to God, no spiritual life now, no salvation hereafter."[2]

The medieval doctrine of Transubstantiation,[3] which virtually gave the priest the power of working a miracle each time he offered up Christ in the mass as a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead, had destroyed the primitive idea of a " communion " of the faithful in the Lord's Supper. Thus the worshipper came to regard the favour of God as mainly dependent on the mechanical act of the priest, which was at once

[1] *Of Ceremonies* (Prayer Book).
[2] Beard, *ut supra*, p. 116.
[3] This doctrine was only formulated as the authorised teaching of the Western Church at the Fourth Lateran Council of 1216.

efficacious and meritorious. "God," said a medieval writer, "is more compassionate and generous through the priest than of Himself, for He does more kindnesses through him than through Himself."[1]

Indulgences

The Penitential system, originally most beneficial as a disciplinary measure in the early Church, had been grossly corrupted, until by the scholastic theory of Indulgences the punishment due even to the worst offences could be commuted by an elaborately calculated system of money payments or by some specially meritorious act. Thus Pope Urban II had promised "remission of sins" to all who should die while on Crusade, and Boniface VIII in 1309 granted "the fullest pardon of all their sins" to all who should visit Rome in the Jubilee Year. Again, by the impious doctrine of the "Treasury of Merits," it was asserted that the supererogatory works of Christ and His saints constituted a sort of spiritual treasury at the sole disposal of the Pope, who applied them in the form of Indulgences for the benefit of the souls of the faithful on earth and in purgatory. Although it was always officially declared that Indulgences could only release the sinner from the temporal penalty[2] due to his offence, and that only absolution, which must be preceded by contrition, or at least sorrow for the personal consequences of sin (attrition), could release from the eternal guilt of sin; yet the popular conception was that an Indulgence practically did away with the necessity of

[1] Quoted in Bezold's *Geschichte der Deutsche Reformation.*

[2] Purgatory, the period between death and judgment, was regarded as belonging to time and not to eternity, and thus Indulgences availed for the relief of sufferers there.

Confession and Absolution. Thus the Indulgences sold by Tetzel, which provoked Luther's famous Ninety-five Theses, definitely promised the purchaser "the fullest remission of all sins," both past and future. We are told that Pope Leo X (1513) "to the guilt of his dispensations added another and greater, when at the instigation of Cardinal Lorenzo Pucci, he everywhere exacted monies in vast sums, sending his bulls through all the kingdoms of Christendom promising forgiveness of all their sins, and eternal life at a price stated according to the quality of their crimes."[1]

It is easy to imagine what a fearfully demoralising effect such a doctrine must have exerted, especially on the lives of the humble and uneducated, who supposed that permission to sin with impunity could be procured by a kind of financial investment. Thomas Gascoigne, Chancellor of Oxford University in the middle of the fifteenth century, actually asserted that pardoners in England bartered Indulgences for twopence or even for the hire of a prostitute.[2]

Pilgrimages

The popular practice of making pilgrimages to famous shrines also fostered the grossest credulity and superstition. A most profitable trade in relics was carried on at these sacred places, where numbers of the more ignorant were imposed on by the sham miracles which the priests performed, while costly gifts were offered to the various images in expectation of bodily healing.

[1] J. A. Thuanus, *Histor. sui temporis ad. ann.* 1515.

[2] Cf. *Liber Veritatum*, p. 123. "Sinners say nowadays: I care not what or how many sins I commit before God, for I can get plenary remission of all my sin and penalty, with all ease and expedition, through the absolution and indulgence granted me by the Pope, whose grant in writing I have bought for fourpence." *Ibid.*

The shrines of Our Lady of Walsingham and St. Thomas of Canterbury were veritable treasuries of wealth. The " true blood of Our Lord " was exposed at Hailes Abbey, while the famous " Rood of Grace " at Boxley was an image which " miraculously " moved its features at the bidding of the priest.

Erasmus launched all his scathing satire on these puerile impostures. " What would Jerome say," he asks, " if he could see the miraculous oil, the portions of the true Cross, enough if they were collected to freight a large ship ? Here we have the blood of St. Francis, Our Lady's petticoat, and St. Thomas's shoes ; not presented as innocent aids to religion, but as the substance of religion itself, and all through the avarice of the priests and the hypocrisy of the monks playing on the credulity of the people."[1]

Although probably it was mainly the vulgar and unenlightened who were deceived by these frauds, while to others, pilgrimages, enjoined as specially meritorious acts, served only as a pretext for a season of amusement or revelry, yet to permit such a travesty of sacred things could not but be demoralising to the religious spirit of the age, and the Injunctions which Henry VIII found it necessary to issue against their continuance proved what a firm hold these superstitious practices had on the minds of the ignorant.[2]

Invocation of Saints

Again, the invocation of saints, no less an evil than

[1] Comments on St. Matt. xxiii, 27, in his *New Testament.*

[2] In 1513 Queen Catherine and Sir A. Plantagenet both made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham, the former for the defeat of the Scots (at Flodden) and the latter for deliverance from shipwreck.—Seebohm, *The Oxford Reformers*, p. 273 (1896), and see Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life*, ch. iii.

pilgrimages, had developed into a homage which virtually amounted to a form of polytheism. Each saint, as Erasmus declared, was regarded as a deity possessing special powers. " This man fasts to Apollonia that he may escape the toothache. Another visits the image of S. Job that he may avoid the itch. In fact as many things as there are that we either fear or wish for, so many gods have we made for them."[1]

Ignorance of Scriptures

Probably the chief cause of such gross superstition was due to the fact that the common people were almost entirely ignorant of the Bible. There was no authorised version, except in Latin, while Wycliffe's translation had been condemned as heretical. In fact, the knowledge of the Scriptures by the laity was regarded as a mark of heresy, and Erasmus tells us that men had been burned at the stake for advocating the circulation of the Bible in the vulgar tongue. " The theologians," he says, " are careful that the sacred Scriptures shall be known to few, lest their authority and their gains should be interfered with."[2] Even in the public services the people were taught through the eye rather than through the intellect. " They chant nowadays," says Erasmus, " in our churches in what is an unknown tongue, while you will not hear a sermon once in six months telling the people to amend their lives. Church music is so constructed that the congregation cannot hear one distinct word."[3] Even many of the clergy were quite illiterate. The friars, whose earnest preaching had produced such a marvellous but transitory

[1] Erasmus, *Enconium Moriae* (Kennett's Trans.).
[2] Erasmus, Epp., p. 1071 (ed. 16 and 1 fol.).
[3] *New Testament* on I Cor. xiv, 19.

revival in the thirteenth century, were now conspicuous for their love of sloth and avarice rather than for their zeal for souls; while the monastic system was being brought into general contempt by the worldliness, idleness, and ignorance of so many of the monks.

Pluralism

"Our theologians," said Erasmus, "call it a sign of holiness to be unable to read. The friars pretend to resemble the Apostles and they are filthy, ignorant, impudent vagabonds."[1] The higher ecclesiastics were nearly always wealthy pluralists, generally non-resident, and almost exclusively occupied with their secular ambitions, and thus shamefully neglected their spiritual duties. It was the age of sordid, self-seeking ecclesiastical statesmen. Archbishop Kempe of York (d. 1452) only visited his diocese for a few days about three times during his twenty-eight years' tenure of the see,[2] while Medford, Dean of Wells (1413-23) never resided at all. And these are only typical cases. Bishops were shamelessly grasping and avaricious, and simony was very prevalent. Gascoigne asserts that the bishops were held in general contempt for their ignorance, worldliness and open neglect of their duties. But there were of course notable exceptions to these sweeping accusations like Alnwick, Bishop of Lincoln (1436-50) and Bishop Pecocke of Chichester (1450-9) both of whom were pious, learned and conscientious in the discharge of their episcopal functions.

[1] *Econium Moriae.*

[2] See *Coll. Historica ex Dict. Theol.*, p. 522 (MS Linc. Coll., Oxford). Mr. Thompson from the evidence of Kempe's Register, thinks that Gascoigne rather exaggerates the Archbishop's non-residence. Cf. *Lincoln Visitations*, II, lxi. n.i. (1919).

Vice and Immorality

With the prevalence of so much ignorance and worldliness, it is not surprising that all kinds of vice and immorality were terribly rife. We must bear in mind that the celibacy of the clergy had not been rigorously enforced till the eleventh century. The First Lateran Council of 1123 is the first official assertion of the nullity of the marriage of priests, and this compulsory practice of celibacy soon developed into a system of recognised concubinage amongst the clergy, which was either connived at or condoned by the payment of a fine to the bishop. Thus John De La Bere, bishop of St. David's, in the middle of the fifteenth century, actually refused to allow his clergy to put away their mistresses, preferring instead to reap the benefit of a yearly tax of a noble for this serious breach of ecclesiastical rule.[1] Erasmus stated that in one year as many as eleven thousand German priests were reported as living in this way, while it is related that "in many places the people were pleased to see their priest keeping a mistress, in the hope that it might secure their wives from seduction."[2] We cannot,

[1] *Ex Dict. Theol.*, 521. Having received a petition from "rectors, vicars and priests" in Wales that he would compel them to put away their concubines so that they might not sin any more in cohabiting with them, he replied, "ego non volo concedere, quod concubinae vestrae nec a vobis nec a domibus vestris separentur, nec separari cogantur, quia tunc ego episcopus vester perderem annuatim 400 Marcas quae recipio annuatim in Diocesi mea pro Concubinis sacerdotum, de quolibet enim sacerdote recipio annuatim unum Nobile vel ultra, pro sua concubina" *ibid.* Bishop J. Wordsworth declares "that at no time before the Reformation were the mass of the clergy unmarried, though the position which their wives enjoyed was generally by no means an enviable one." *Ministry of Grace*, p. 230. But these "wives" were clearly regarded in the light of "mistresses" or "concubines."

[2] Nicol de Clamengüs, *De Praesulibus Simoniacis.*

however, be much surprised at the dissoluteness of many of the inferior clergy when we consider the lives of the princes and dignitaries of the Church. Religious zeal and piety were unknown to the Popes of this period, who, when they were not occupied in political intrigues or literary pursuits, spent their time in idle luxury and pleasure, or in shameless wickedness and immorality. " The question how a Pope should marry, provide for, and establish his children, affected the politics of all Europe."[1] The ordinary clergy could scarcely be reproved for violating the vow of chastity when Pope Alexander VI, whom Guicciardini, the Florentine historian, describes as a man of " no sincerity, no shame, no truth, and no religion," possessed a family of five illegitimate children, and gave public fêtes to celebrate his daughter's marriage.[2] After the birth of Pope Alexander's son in 1497, Savonarola remarked, " We no longer hear in high quarters of my ' nephews ' and ' nieces,' but of my little son and my little daughter. Women of ill fame are paraded at St. Peter's and every priest has his concubine."[3] So corrupt and immoral were the Italian ecclesiastics, that Machiavelli declared that " the scandalous examples and crimes of the Court of Rome are the cause why Italy has lost every principle of piety and all religious sentiment. We Italians are chiefly indebted to the Church and the priests for having become a set of profane scoundrels."[4]

[1] Ranke's *Popes of Rome*, vol. i, p. 32.

[2] " The debauchery of Alexander VI must ever be contemplated with loathing " says Ranke, *Popes of Rome*, vol. i, p. 49.

[3] Sermon xii. Exod., p. 143. Innocent VIII (1484-92) had also openly acknowledged his children and created them " princes."

[4] Dissertations on the First Decade of Titus Livy.

Attempts had been made at different times during the Middle Ages to deal with this degenerate condition of the Church. The fearless Bishop Grosseteste[1] had courageously denounced the corruptions of the Church of his day, while efforts at reform had been made by the General Councils held at Constance and Basle. In England the movement started by Wycliffe had been premature and had ended in temporary disaster, and now another attempt was to be made by the disciples of the Renaissance.

But while there is such abundant evidence of the general corruption of the Church and of the urgent necessity for reform, it would be a mistake to conclude that the lamp of faith and virtue had entirely gone out. The dark clouds of ignorance, superstition and moral corruption had not entirely overspread the heavens. There must have been always some bright patches visible. We must remember that the age itself was coarse, brutal and demoralising and this would inevitably affect the standard of Christian conduct, but even those who most scathingly expose the evils of Church life point us to what must have been at least more than its occasional redeeming feature. Thus Chaucer describes his " Poor Parson of a Town " as

> " Rich he was in holy thought and work
> He was also a learned man a clerk
> That Christ's gospel truly would preach
> His parishioners devoutly would he teach."

[1] It should be carefully remembered that Grosseteste made no attacks on existing Papal claims and powers. He took up the illogical position of protesting against their *abuse* and not their *use*. Thus although he vigorously withstood certain papal appointments in England, he admitted fully that the Pope had the power to order " concerning all ecclesiastical benefices." Cf. Prof. Maitland's *Canon Law in the Church of England*, p. 66 and 116 n.

CHAPTER III

ENGLAND AND THE NEW LEARNING

THE new era of art and literature which had so transformed Italian thought during the fifteenth century did not materially affect England till the beginning of the next century. Henry VII was far too much occupied with his own avaricious and ambitious schemes to give much attention to the revival of letters, but the accession of his son in 1509 gave a great stimulus to the new movement. The popular and handsome young king was an accomplished son of the Renaissance, and thus his accession was hailed with the greatest enthusiasm by the learned world of his day. Lord Mountjoy told his friend Erasmus of the pride of the people in their new sovereign, who was " no seeker after gold or gems or mines of silver, but desired only the fame of virtue and eternal life."[1]

Henry VIII himself, in an earnest personal appeal to Erasmus to come to England said, " Give me the pleasure of assisting and protecting you as far as my power extends. It has been and is my earnest wish to restore Christ's religion to its primitive purity, and to employ whatever talents and means I have in extinguishing heresy and giving free course to the word of God. Come to England and assure yourself of a hearty welcome."[2]

[1] Allen, *Erasmi Epistolae*, I, 450.
[2] Erasmus Ep. ccccl (2nd series) 1702 (Leyden).

The Early Greek Scholars

But although the friends of the New Learning had been but a very small company under Henry VII, the study of Greek literature had been introduced in the schools at Oxford before the year 1475 by the Italian scholar Vitelli, while Amberino, another Italian humanist, had taught Greek at Cambridge. As early as 1465, Selling, an Oxford student, had visited Italy and learnt Greek from the famous Italian scholar Politian. It was to Vitelli and Selling that Thomas Linacre and William Grocyn, Fellow of New College (1467-1481), owed their first acquaintance with Greek, although they both completed their education in humanistic literature by a sojourn in Italy, where they studied under Chalcondylas and Politian. Linacre devoted himself to the study of the science of medicine, and on his return from Italy he lectured in Greek at Oxford to such celebrated pupils as John Colet, Desiderius Erasmus, and Sir Thomas More. He was appointed physician to Henry VIII in 1509 and helped to found the College of Physicians in 1518.

It was no easy task which these English enthusiasts of the Renaissance had undertaken in their endeavour to revive the study of Greek language and literature at Oxford. The English Universities, at this time the strongholds of the antiquated teaching of the medieval scholastics, were bitterly opposed to the new movement. The schoolmen regarded the New Learning as heresy, and far preferred the theological opinions of Duns Scotus or Thomas Aquinas to the study of the New Testament in the original Greek. Many of the doctors and ecclesiastics were not even acquainted with

the text of Holy Scripture, and one monk actually declared that "the New Testament is a book full of briers and serpents. The Greek is a new language recently invented, and of it we ought specially to beware. As to Hebrew, it is certain that all who learn it that instant become Jews."[1]

The advocates of the New Learning in England insisted, on the other hand, that men should discard the teachings of the schoolmen, and instead of wrangling over the rival systems of the Thomists and Scotists, should imbibe their theology direct from the pure Christianity of the early Fathers and from the New Testament itself. Thus their main aim in visiting Italy was to acquire a thorough knowledge of the ancient classics, and especially of Greek, in order that by returning to the purest sources of knowledge they might secure the best key to the most correct meaning of the text of the New Testament. Their great aim was to bring to people a direct and intelligent knowledge of the Person and teaching of Christ, dispensing altogether with the philosophical subtleties and dogmas of the medieval theologians. Erasmus wished the Scriptures to be translated into all languages, so that "even the weakest woman might read the Gospels and Epistles of St. Paul," and that "the husbandman should sing portions of them to himself as he follows the plough."[2]

Colet

One of the most celebrated names in connection with

[1] Quoted in D'Aubigné's *History of Reformation*, vol. i, p. 41 (1846). There was a very strong prejudice against the study of Greek at this time and very few scholars had any knowledge of it. More relates that even Colet only started to study Greek in 1516, when he was fifty years old.

[2] "The Paraclesis" to his *Novum Instrumentum*.

JOHN COLET
Dean of Saint Paul's

From the drawing by Holbein at Windsor Castle
By gracious permission of the King.

this new movement is John Colet (1466-1519), the pupil of Grocyn and Linacre, who completed his knowledge of ancient literature by a visit to Italy in 1494, where after becoming fully acquainted with the writings of the Fathers, " he gave himself up to the study of the Holy Scriptures." On his return to England in 1496, although not even yet in deacon's Orders, he commenced his famous lectures on St. Paul's Epistles.[1]

This was the first step towards substituting the critical and practical study of the Bible for the involved and pedantic opinions of the schoolmen. In his religious spirit and teaching Colet seems to have approximated more nearly than any other disciple of the Renaissance to the aims and ideals of the later doctrinal reformers. He had a genuine detestation for the teachings of the medieval doctors, especially of Thomas Aquinas, who " had," he declared, " corrupted the whole teaching of Christ by mixing with it his profane philosophy."[2] Thus when theological students sought his advice he urged them to disregard the *summae theologiae* of the schoolmen and " to keep firmly to the Bible and the Apostles' Creed, and let divines, if they will, dispute about the rest."[3] Erasmus gives us a striking account of Colet's personal character and strong religious opinions. " He talks all the time of Christ. He hates coarse language. He is a man of genuine piety. I never knew a man of sunnier nature. . . . He thought the Scotists stupid blockheads. He hated Thomas Aquinas even more than the Scotists. . . He had a particular dislike of bishops. He said they were more like wolves than shepherds. They sold the

[1] He was ordained deacon, December 17th, 1497.
[2] Knight's *Life of Colet*, p. 49 (1823); or Allen, *ut supra*, IV, 520.
[3] Seebohm, *ut supra*, pp. 106-7 (1896).

sacraments, sold their ceremonies and absolutions. They were the slaves of vanity and avarice. He admitted privately that many things were generally taught that he did not believe, but he would not create a scandal by blurting out objections."[1]

As Dean of St. Paul's, from 1504, Colet soon gained great and even undesirable popularity, as his earnest Gospel expositions often attracted many who shared "Lollard opinions," and thus he became suspected of heresy. This was not very surprising, as in his consuming zeal for reform he was not even surpassed by the fearless Latimer in bold and outspoken denunciations of the vices and corruptions of the clergy. Preaching before the Convocation of Canterbury in 1512 he mercilessly exposed the self-seeking, luxurious, and worldly lives of the clergy. He vigorously denounced the secular employments in which so many, especially of the dignitaries of the Church, were engaged. "The Church—the spouse of Christ—which He wished to be without spot or wrinkle, is . . ." he declared, "become foul and deformed . . . so that we seem able truly to say: All things that are in the Church are either the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, or the pride of life! To sum up all in one word, every corruption, all the ruin of the Church, all the scandals of the world, come from the covetousness of priests. We are troubled in these days also by heretics—but this heresy of theirs is not so pestilential and pernicious to us and to the people as the vicious and depraved lives of the clergy."

[1] Erasmus *Ep.*, ccccxxxv (1702), or Allen, *ut supra*, IV, 517-23, and Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biog.*, vol. i, pp. 441-9 (1839). On another occasion Erasmus refers to Colet as "a man who joined the highest doctrine with wonderful piety, and of great authority amongst all." Allen, *Erasmi Epistolae*, I, 570.

" O, the abominable impiety of these miserable priests of whom this age of ours contains a great multitude, who fear not to rush from the bosom of some foul harlot to the temple of the Church, to the altar of Christ, to the mysteries of God." The Reformation, he declared, must commence with the bishops and dignitaries of the Church. And certainly the condition of things at this time in Colet's own cathedral was specially bad. The chapter, he asserted, " cast aside their care for the church, they pursue their private gains. They convert the common property to their private use . . . residence in the Cathedral is . . . robbing the Church and enriching oneself."[1] There was, he affirmed, no need for " new laws or constitutions, but for the observance of those already enacted." Unfit men were not to be admitted to Holy Orders simply because they could " construe a collect, propound a proposition, or reply to a sophism " ; what were needed were purity, holiness, knowledge of the Scriptures, and, " above all, fear of God and love of heavenly life."[2]

Not even kings were exempt from his impartial criticism. He told Henry VIII, who, in a spirit of vain ambition, was about to invade France in 1511, that " whoever takes up arms from hatred and ambition fights, not under the standard of Christ, but of Satan," and the young king was so pleased by this unusual frankness that he declared, " Well, let everyone choose his own doctor ; but this shall be my doctor, before all other whatsoever."[3]

By his foundation of St. Paul's School in 1509, Colet

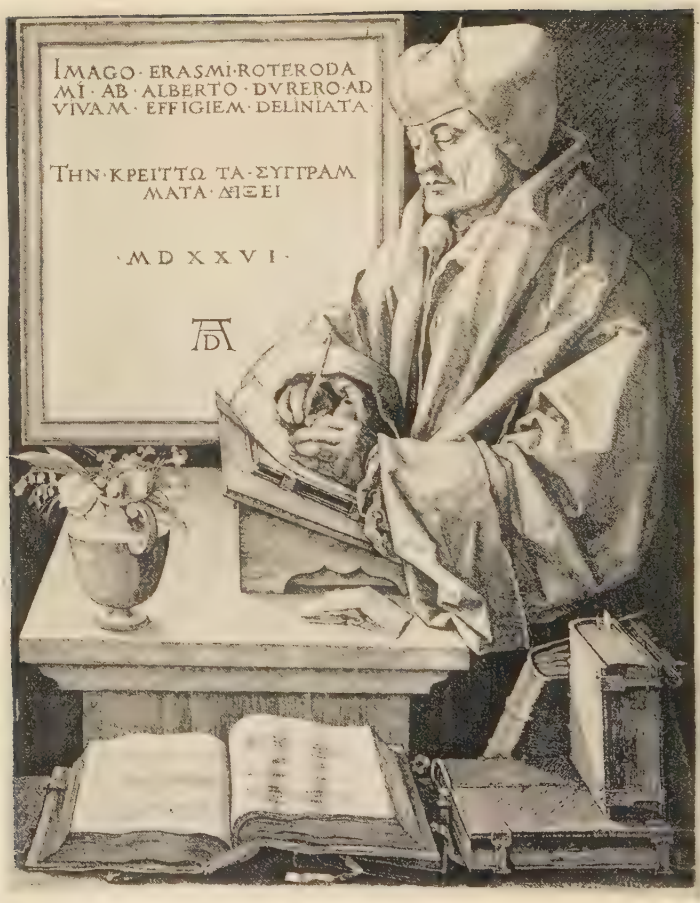
[1] Lupton, *Life of Colet*, pp. 90, 134 (1887).
[2] Knight's *Life of Colet*, pp. 251-9 (1823).
[3] Allen, *ut supra*, IV, 525.

commenced an experiment in educational reform thoroughly in harmony with the spirit of the Renaissance. The old medieval methods of instruction were discarded, and fresh grammars were composed, by which the pupils could learn pure Greek and Latin and be trained in all the riches of the New Learning. The children whom Colet, in the Preface to his *Catechizon* in his Latin grammar, exhorted "to lift up your little white hands for me which prayeth for you to God," were to be taught "such authors that with wisdom have joined pure, chaste eloquence, specially Christian authors, who wrote their wisdom in clean, chaste Latin, . . . for my intent is by this school specially to increase knowledge, and worshipping of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, and good Christian life and manners in the children." Colet chose as his headmaster, William Lilly, an Oxford scholar and a close companion of More, who had perfected his knowledge of ancient literature during his visit to Italy and the East.

More

One of the most enthusiastic disciples of the New Learning in England was Colet's great friend, the witty and accomplished Thomas More. When but a mere boy, the famous Cardinal Morton, in whose service More then was, had prophesied that "this child, whosoever shall live to see it, will prove a marvellous man."[1] He was a man of a most simple and loveable disposition, and despite his gay and careless manners, of deep religious conviction. "Nature," said Erasmus, "never framed anything gentler, sweeter, happier than the disposition of Thomas More. His whole house

[1] Roper's *Life of Sir T. More*, p. 4 (1822).



ERASMUS

From the original engraving by Albrecht Dürer.

breathes happiness and no one enters it who is not the better for the visit." The humane and enlightened principles for the government of society which he enunciated in his famous *Utopia*, published in 1516, have not yet all been fully realised, and must have seemed peculiarly startling and out of harmony with the conditions of life then prevailing. Although he was fully alive to the prevalent abuses in the Church, and in his *Utopia* actually advocated complete toleration for all religious opinions, yet he made no attempt to put this principle into practice, and throughout his career he always remained a staunch adherent to the Roman Church, and was so energetic in his suppression of "heretics" that he was described by a contemporary chronicler as "a great persecutor of such as detested the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome."[1]

Erasmus

The intimate friend of More and Colet, and the man who probably did most to overthrow scholastic theology and advance the cause of the Renaissance, was Erasmus, who passed a considerable portion of his wandering life in England. Born in Holland about 1467, he came to Oxford in 1498, and practically completed his study of Greek, of which he was passionately fond, under Grocyn and Linacre. By his ready wit, his attractive personality, and his great learning he soon won wide popularity. It has been confidently asserted that no one has since enjoyed such a universal literary reputation. "Before the sickly scholar of Basel, throwing on every controversy of the age the light of his genius and his learning, though too cautious

[1] Hall's *Chronicle*, p. 817.

to take a decisive part in any (the derider of monks who yet clave to the Church, the Reformer who shrank from reform, the humanist who would not desert the Papacy) all Europe bowed."[1] Erasmus declared that the English scholars knew their classics so accurately that he had lost little in not going to Italy. "When I listen to my Colet, I seem to myself to listen to Plato, who does not marvel at the complete circle of knowledge in Grocyn. What can be more acute, more profound or of keener discernment than the judgment of Linacre? It is wonderful to relate what is everywhere here, how profusely the crop of ancient literature flourishes."[2]

From 1509 to 1514 he held the post of Professor of Greek at Cambridge, which, however, he was obliged to relinquish owing to the niggardly way his services were rewarded. He left England finally in 1516, and ended his days at Basle. Patronised and pensioned by Popes, princes, and prelates, he was able with impunity to expose the superstitions and corruptions in the Church with all the force of his keen wit and biting satire. In his *Praise of Folly*,[3] which created a profound impression and was translated into all languages, Erasmus denounced the medieval superstitions in most unsparingly sarcastic language, which could scarcely have been surpassed by an avowed opponent of the Church of Rome. He denounced the folly of invoking particular guardian saints for special purposes, such as toothache, delivery in childbirth, or protection in sea voyages. "Some more Catholic saints," he declared, "were petitioned upon all occasions, as more especially

[1] Beard, *ut supra*, p. 65.
[2] Allen, *Erasmi Epistolae*, I, 273-4.
[3] Twenty-seven editions were published in his lifetime.

the Virgin Mary, whose blind devotees think it good manners now to place the mother before the Son. . . . Our souls are so fashioned and moulded, that they are sooner captivated by appearances, than by real truths . . . those saints are most resorted to who are most fabulous and romantic . . . and often more prayed to than St. Peter, St. Paul, nay perhaps than Christ Himself." He attacked the idle and luxurious lives of the bishops, and even the Popes. "The Church indeed has no enemies more bloody and tyrannical than such impious Popes, who give dispensations for the not preaching of Christ, adulterate the Gospel by their forced interpretations and undermining traditions, and by their lusts and wickedness grieve the Holy Spirit and make their Saviour's wounds to bleed anew."[1]

His New Testament

But Erasmus's greatest contribution to the cause of reform was his publication in 1516 of a critical edition of the New Testament[2] in the original Greek, with a new and scholarly Latin translation, in which he threw over all old traditions and depended entirely on the literal meaning of the text. It soon proved a great blow to medieval Christianity, and also a most important factor in the development of the Reformation. This New Testament quickly took the place of the older but far more imperfect translation of the Vulgate. In the Preface addressed to Leo X, Erasmus declared that the highest aim of the revival of philosophical studies should be to give a knowledge of the pure and simple Christianity of the Bible. "If the ship of the Church is to be saved from being swallowed

[1] *Praise of Folly*, pp. 93, 104, and 170 (1887).
[2] This received the definite approval of Pope Leo X.

up by the tempest, there is only one anchor that can save it: it is the heavenly Word, which, issuing from the bosom of the Father, lives, speaks, and works still in the Gospel."[1]

His New Testament was at first received everywhere with the greatest enthusiasm, especially in England, but it soon raised a perfect storm of opposition from the bigoted disciples of the Old Learning, who stigmatised Erasmus as a heretic, a forger, and even an antichrist, declaring that it was blasphemous to attempt to improve on the Vulgate. Monks accused him of "trying to correct the Holy Spirit." Archbishop Lee of York, a champion of the old scholastic theology, virulently assailed his old friend, asserting that there were more than three thousand "dangerous frightful passages in it. If we don't stop this leak," he declared, "it will sink the ship."[2] But it was in vain that the medieval scholastics attempted to overthrow the revival of learning in England while it received the warm and exalted patronage of the King, the Primate Archbishop Warham, and Sir Thomas More, the Lord Chancellor. It was also greatly accelerated by the new art of printing, and had already made rapid strides at the universities. Bishop Fox of Winchester had founded Corpus Christi College at Oxford, with a charter entirely in harmony with the new movement, while Wolsey, Henry's ambitious and all-powerful minister, despite his inordinate love of wealth, pomp, and ceremony, gave a signal proof of his genuine enthusiasm for the New Learning by his magnificent foundation of Cardinal College. At Cam-

[1] Erasmus, *Leoni Ep.*, p. 1843, and Allen, *ut supra*, II, 185.
[2] Erasmi, *Leoni Ep.*, p. 746.

bridge, Bishop Fisher had persuaded the Lady Margaret to found Christ's and St. John's Colleges, while Erasmus gives us some idea of the revolution which had taken place in its authorised teaching. "Scarcely thirty years ago nothing was taught at Cambridge," he says, "but Alexander the *Parva Logicalia* as they call it, antiquated exercises from Aristotle and the *Quaestiones* of Scotus; . . . now the university is so flourishing that it can compete with the best universities of the age. It contains men compared with whom, theologians of the old school seem only ghosts of theologians."[1]

It is important, however, to remember, that with all these noble and successful efforts for the revival of culture and learning and for the reform of medieval abuses, there was as yet no thought of any breach with the recognised standard of orthodoxy. Erasmus was, it is true, accused by his enemies of "laying the egg which Luther hatched," and certainly at times he expressed his theological conclusions in terms which might well have been employed by the celebrated monk of Wittenberg. "In my opinion," he writes, "many might be reconciled to the Church of Rome if, instead of everything being defined, we were contented with what is evidently set forth in the Scriptures or necessary to salvation." The sum of Christ's philosophy, he declared, lay in the knowledge of our redemption through His death, and in union with Christ's body in baptism, so that, dead to the desires of the world, we might follow His teaching and example and progress from virtue to virtue.[2]

[1] Allen, *Erasmi Epistolae*, II, 328.

[2] Eras-; *Epist.* cccclxxviii (November 1st, 1519), and Allen, *ut supra*, 118, letter to John Slechta, the Bohemian.

His Views

But even if Erasmus perceived the logical outcome of his teaching, he possessed neither the courage nor the inclination to act on its principles. His was the spirit of the timid, retiring, religious philosopher, and not that of the active and fearless Christian reformer. "The corruptions of the Court of Rome," he told Cardinal Campeggio in 1520, "may require reform extensive and immediate, but I and the like of mine are not called on to take a work like that upon ourselves. I would rather see things left as they are than see a revolution that may lead to no one knows what, others may be martyrs if they like, I aspire to no such honour."[1] Again, in answer to a letter from Bishop Marlianus of Tuy, Erasmus declared, "Christ I know, Luther I know not. The Roman Church I know, and death will not part me from it till the Church departs from Christ."[2] Shortly before his death he wrote, "I care nothing for fame, nothing for posterity. I desire only to get home and to find favour with Christ."[3]

In estimating the conduct and attitude of Erasmus, however, it should be carefully borne in mind that much of the superstitious and erroneous teaching then so prevalent was due to the popular and very general misrepresentations and perversions of Christian doctrines, many of which had never been formally recog-

[1] *Ep.*, dxlvii (1702) and Allen, *ut supra*, IV, 410.

[2] *Ep.*, di, and Allen, *ut supra*, IV, 458-63. "Every wise man," he adds, "knows that doctrines and usages have been introduced into the Church which have no real sanction, partly by custom . . . by scholastic definitions. . . . Such excresences must be removed though the medicine must be administered cautiously lest it make the disorder worse and the patient die."

[3] *Ep.*, mclxxxvi.

nised as the official teaching of the Church of Rome, and were by no means all adopted as such by the Council of Trent a few years later. "I have not deviated," Erasmus affirmed, "in what I have written, one hair's-breadth from the Church's teaching. I advise everyone who consults me to submit to the Pope."[1]

Character of the Movement

The Oxford disciples of the Renaissance, in common with Erasmus, were a body of ethical and literary reformers, who, like Savonarola, never contemplated any quarrel with the Holy See, as their aim was simply a reform of the *moral abuses within* the Church. They were not concerned to remove the corruptions in its *doctrine and ceremonies*. "My work has been," said Erasmus, "to restore a buried literature and recall divines from their hair splittings to a knowledge of the New Testament. I have never been a dogmatist." The men of the New Learning confidently anticipated the disappearance of the medieval superstitious beliefs, which they despised, if only they could produce a real revival of spiritual life through a closer study and practice of the ethical teaching of the New Testament. But for the achievement of their hopes they failed to realise that before the stream itself could be pure it was necessary to cleanse the source. They had, however, ploughed up the ground and prepared the soil, and it now remained for the coming generation of doctrinal reformers to sow the seed and reap the harvest. Thus while the disciples of the Renaissance concerned themselves mainly with the moral and rational teaching of the New Testament, the Reformers dwelt chiefly

[1] See Note 2 on previous page.

on its theological and dogmatic conclusions. While the former laboured to cure the ignorance, corruption, and vice which were so terribly prevalent in the lives of both clergy and laity, the latter sought to overthrow the errors and superstitions which had gathered round the medieval system of theology. The one sought to purify morals, the other to purify the doctrine which governed the morality.

CHAPTER IV

ROME AND THE DIVORCE

It has too often been supposed that the breach between England and Rome was almost entirely due to the unfortunate alliance between Henry VIII and Catharine of Aragon, and thus it is necessary once more carefully to point out that *the Divorce question was merely the occasion and not the cause of the English Reformation.* It only accelerated an event which in all probablity could not have been delayed very long, for the causes that led to the assertion of the ecclesiastical independence of the Anglican Church lay far deeper than the matrimonial diversions of an amorous and despotic king.

Wycliffe and the Lollards

The revival of learning had, as we have seen, paved the way for the more revolutionary methods of the Reformers, but it must not be forgotten that from the close of the fourteenth century there had existed a party anxious for drastic Church reform. The teachings of Wycliffe and his followers, which had at first spread so rapidly, were aimed not merely against popular abuses and superstitions but also against current medieval doctrines. They had indeed been ruthlessly suppressed by the persecuting policy pursued by the Church in the fifteenth century, but although Lollardy had become tainted with the imputation of political

sedition and crushed as an effective movement, yet it had by no means been stamped out altogether. The records of executions for heresy, which continue into the early years of the sixteenth century, are a sufficient proof that Wycliffite teaching still retained a strong hold on many, especially of the lower middle classes, until at length its secret adherents were stimulated and increased by the Lutheran movement, which began to influence England from about 1520. For even at this time "carpenters, poor men, poor cobblers, weavers, trade apprentices, and humble artisans, might be seen at night stealing along the lanes and alleys of London, carrying with them some precious load of books which it was death to have, and giving their lives gladly, if it must be so, for the brief tenure of so dear a treasure."[1] This party of doctrinal reformers was, however, at present an insignificant minority, although as Henry's reign advanced it grew steadily in numbers and importance.

Anti-Clerical feeling

There was at this time also a growing feeling of hostility against the clergy, engendered largely by the privileges they enjoyed, and the heavy and often unjust fees which were imposed on the laity through the Church Courts. "The immunity of ecclesiastical persons," says Burnet, "was a thing that occasioned great complaints, and good cause there was for them. For it was ordinary for persons, after the greatest crimes, to get into orders, and then not only what was past must be forgiven them, but they were not to be questioned for any crime after holy orders given, till

[1] Froude's *History of England*, vol. i, p. 169 (1879).

they were first degraded ; and till that was done they were the bishop's prisoners."[1] In 1518 a law was passed which denied this " Benefit of Clergy " to all murderers and robbers who were not in the superior orders of bishop, priest, or deacon. This was greatly resented by the clergy, as a heavy blow at their cherished privileges, and a certain abbot publicly denounced it " as contrary to the law of God and to the liberties of the Holy Church, and that all who had assented to it had incurred the censures of the Church."

This bold denunciation so enraged the Commons that they arranged for a conference on this vexed question before the King at Blackfriars, when Dr. Standish, a member of Henry's spiritual council, so ably championed the obnoxious law that the laity requested the bishops to order the Abbot of Winchcomb to retract his sermon.

The ill-feeling thus aroused was further increased by the supposed murder of a London merchant tailor named Richard Hunne, who, on account of his refusal to pay a Mortuary fee for his dead child,[2] had been cited before a spiritual court. Hunne sued the priest for contravening the " Statute of Praemunire," and in retaliation was accused of heresy by the Bishop of London and imprisoned. Shortly afterwards he was

[1] *History of the Reformation*, vol. i, p. 16 (1825). An eminent modern authority confirms this assertion by declaring that the strong anti-clerical feeling displayed at this time was due "especially to the ever-spreading and rankling sore produced by the inquisitorial, mercenary and generally disreputable character of the Courts of Spiritual Discipline, an evil which had no slight share in making the Reformation inevitable, and which outlived the Reformation and did its worst in alienating the people from the Church Reformed." Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, vol. iii, p. 523.

[2] Originally this was a fee demanded by the priest *before* burial as compensation for tithes assumed to have been withheld during life.

found hanged in his prison, and the jury returned a verdict of murder, and accused the bishop's chancellor of being an accessory to it. In spite of these suspicious circumstances, the bishop most unwisely ordered Hunne's body to be burned as that of a heretic. This action occasioned a great outcry against the clergy, and Hunne's case was espoused by Parliament, while Convocation cited Dr. Standish to answer for his action in opposing the Abbot of Winchcomb. Standish claimed the King's protection,[1] and the case was argued before Henry at Blackfriars in 1515. Dr. Veysey, Dean of the Chapter Royal, supported Standish, stating that "the convening of clerks before a secular judge, which had always been practised in England, might well consist with the law of God and the true liberties of the Holy Church." The judges also decided that Convocation, in attempting to try Dr. Standish, had incurred the penalties of a "Praemunire," and thus the members were forced to appear before the King, when Cardinal Wolsey, on behalf of Convocation, humbly disclaimed any intention "of derogating from his prerogative," but begged that "to avoid the censure of the Church, he would refer the matter to the decision of the Pope." Henry, however, replied "that the Kings of England in times past had never any superior but God only," and that therefore "we will maintain the right of our Crown and of our temporal jurisdiction in as ample a manner as any of our progenitors have done. And as for your decrees we are well assured that you of the spiritualty go expressly against the words of some of them . . . and you inter-

[1] "What shall one poor friar do alone against all the bishops and clergy of England?" exclaimed Standish.

pret them at your pleasure, but we will not agree to them more than our progenitors have done in former times."[1]

Papal Claims

In addition to this unfriendly spirit displayed by the laity towards the clergy, there was an even stronger feeling of hostility to the temporal claims of the Popes. The absolute power and authority in all matters of faith, administration, and jurisdiction claimed and exercised by the Popes of the Middle Ages rested entirely on the foundation of the forged "Decretals" of the pseudo-Isidore which had been early accepted and so incorporated into the Decretum of Gratian,[2] a monk of Bologna. Their genuineness, owing to the new critical and scientific spirit of investigation was, however, now being seriously questioned. *Their absolute authority had, however, been unquestioned for the past three centuries*, and had been the main cause of the very general submission to the extravagant claims of the Papacy. Burnet asserts "that England had for above three hundred years been the tamest part of Christendom to the Papal authority, and though the parliaments and two or three high-spirited kings had given some interruption to the cruel exactions of the Court of Rome, yet that Court always gained their designs in the end."[3] Even if we may be inclined to

[1] Burnet, *ut supra*, vol. i, pp. 17-23.

[2] About the year 800 a writer under the assumed name of Isidore Mercator forged a series of decretal Epistles in order to prove that from the earliest times the Popes had been invested with supreme power and jurisdiction over all churches and ecclesiastics. Gratian's famous *Decretum* (1148) was built up on the foundation of these "false Decretals," and also on the forged "Donation of Constantine," which professed to be a grant from the Emperor Constantine to the Pope of the Western world.

[3] *Hist. of Reform*, vol. i, p. 15.

question the precise historical accuracy of this statement, there is no doubt that England had suffered severely from the extortion, rapacity and the political aims and intrigues of the medieval Papacy. For the spiritual powers and prerogatives of the " Vicar of Christ " were made to subserve his ambitious designs as a temporal sovereign, until he claimed and occasionally exercised a virtual dictatorship over the Christian world and was frequently a most disturbing factor in European politics. The great ambition of the Popes was, as a Venetian contemporary declared of Julius II, " to be lords and masters of the game of the world." England had been a special sufferer from this perversion of Papal authority, and it is not surprising that Wycliffe's protest against the financial demands of a Pope then entirely in the power of France, the traditional enemy of his country, should have been so popular. We can form some idea of the extent of this evil when we remember that *the Pope claimed by a divine right to present to all the livings and bishoprics in Christendom*, and as these preferments were openly bought and sold, this claim, while it became a source of enormous profit to the Papal treasury,[1] was most ruinous and demoralising to the Church at large. It was estimated that by this practice the Pope drew from England *a revenue five times as large as that of the King*. It also directly fostered the twin abuses of pluralism and non-residence, as by virtue of a Papal bull foreigners or *even mere boys* could often enjoy the profits of a number of cures, the duties of which they either disgracefully neglected or were utterly incapable

[1] " According to an authentic register, there existed in 1471 nearly 650 saleable offices in the Papal Curia, the incomes of which amounted to about 100,000 scudi."—Ranke, *ut supra*, vol. i, p. 277.

of fulfilling. Thus at the beginning of the sixteenth century *a boy of sixteen actually enjoyed, besides the deanery of Lincoln, three canonries, one prebend, one college mastership, and one rectory.*[1]

For at least two centuries before the Reformation pluralism had been terribly prevalent. Dignitaries usually held quite a number of lucrative preferments the duties of which they shamelessly neglected. William of Wykeham (1324-1404) held over a dozen lucrative offices many years before he was ordained. Even the Oxford Reformer, Colet, was a pluralist. The non-residence of the parochial clergy was a constant source of scandal, which the example set by the higher ecclesiastics only fostered. Although frequent efforts were made by the bishops to check this evil they were usually ineffective, and frequently overridden by papal dispensations, which were easily procured.

National Protests

Repeated attempts had also been made to remedy the abuse of papal Provisions. As early as the middle of the thirteenth century Louis IX of France had replied boldly to the Pope's absolute claim to dispose of all benefices that "the kingdom of France, recognising no other superior or protector than God Almighty, is independent of all men, and consequently of the Pope," while by the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, in 1438, this assertion had been made practically effective, as the Gallican Church was freed from the absolute claims and pecuniary exactions of the Papacy for nearly eighty years. Germany had constantly protested against the extortionate demands of the medieval

[1] Cf. Massingberd, *Eng. Reform'n*, p. 229.

Popes, and by the Concordat of Vienna, in 1448, very considerable financial concessions had been obtained for the territorial churches. In England the "Statute of Praemunire" (1353) had made it penal to procure "translations, sentences of excommunication, or bulls" from Rome, "in derogation of the King's Crown" while the "Statute of Provisors" (1351) distinctly forbade the Pope to nominate to English benefices. In practice, however, these statutes proved but little protection, for not only were they soon evaded, but almost immediately after they had been re-enacted in the following reign, we find that the Pope again successfully asserted his claim to "provide" his own nominee for the archiepiscopal See of Canterbury. Henry IV even went so far as to pass a special Act to allow Papal nominees to possess their cures, while the appointment to bishoprics was usually effected by a compact between the King and the Pope, which ignored the rights of the Cathedral Chapter. Thus, soon after the Council of Constance, Pope Martin V appointed, on his own authority, as many as fourteen bishops in the province of Canterbury alone.

The Abuse of Annates

Probably the imposition which pressed most heavily on the clergy and nation was the demand made by the See of Rome for the payment of "Annates" or first-fruits, by which *each bishop on his promotion was compelled to pay to the Roman Curia the entire proceeds of his first year's income before he could obtain the necessary bulls for his consecration.* So grievous had this burden become that Strype states that as soon as Henry VIII

[1] Strype, *Memorials of the Reformation*, vol. i, p. 158.

had asserted his supremacy over the Church, Convocation actually petitioned him to withdraw himself and his subjects from obedience to the Roman see unless this custom should be abolished.[1] There is, however, good reason to believe, from an examination of contemporary documents, that this petition emanated from the Parliament, at the instigation of the government of the day, and that Strype was in error in attributing it to the Convocation; for the bishops and abbots voted against the Annates Act in parliament shortly afterwards (1532). Thus the French Ambassador, M. de la Pomeroy, in reporting the passing of the Annates Act to Cardinal Tournon, said, "The clergy in Convocation have consented to nothing, nor will they, till they know the pleasure of their master, the Holy Father, but the other estates being agreed, the refusal of the clergy is treated as of no consequence."[1]

In tracing the history and momentous result of Henry's divorce proceedings, we should carefully bear in mind the important factor of his own peculiar temperament and character. In addition to his immense popularity, owing to his shrewd wisdom and tact and his many accomplishments, Henry VIII was a man of great courage and determined will. He could brook no interference with his cherished aims and projects. Wolsey aptly described Henry's special characteristics when he said, "He is sure a prince of a royal courage and hath a princely heart and rather than he will miss or want any part of his will or appetite, he will put the loss of one half of his realm in danger. . . . If it chance you hereafter to be one of his privy council, I warn you to be well advised what matter you

[1] Froude, *History of England*, vol. i, p. 354 (1879).

put in his head for you shall never put it out again."[1] Similarly Sir T. More when congratulated by his son-in-law on his close intimacy with the King replied, " I thank God I do believe he doth as singularly favour me as any subject within his realm. Howbeit I have no cause to be proud of it ; for if my head would win him a castle in France, it should not fail to fly from my shoulders as fast as it now seemeth to stick."[2]

Henry's Marriage

It is only just to Henry to say that it was not merely his passion for Anne Boleyn which led him to question the validity of his marriage with Catharine. After the death of his brother Arthur, he had at first strongly objected to Henry VII's proposal that he should wed his brother's widow. Later, owing to the influence of Archbishop Warham, Henry VII changed his opinion and solemnly enjoined his son to renounce the contract altogether. Political considerations however, had on the death of his father, led him to look more favourably on the project. Thus, a Papal dispensation was obtained, and the marriage was solemnised, although Archbishop Warham protested against it as contrary to the law of God. A want of blessing seemed to attend the union, as at least two sons died in infancy, and the Princess Mary was the only child that reached maturity. Thus, when Henry had no longer any hopes of a male heir, he began to regard this calamity as a divine visitation on his marriage. He consulted the Old Testament Scriptures, and the opinions of the schoolmen, and was persuaded that the marriage was contrary to the laws of God, which, being superior

[1] [2] Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biog.*, vol. i, p. 637 and vol. ii, p. 65.

to the laws of the Church, the Pope had no power to dispense. A judgment obtained from the English bishops also upheld this view, and although the appearance of Anne Boleyn probably added point to Henry's conscientious scruples, they had been further fostered by the fact that the doubtful legitimacy of the Princess Mary had already caused both the Emperor Charles V and Francis of France to reject the offer of her hand in marriage.

Thus there was not only a real danger of a recrudescence of civil strife owing to the uncertain title of the heir to the Crown, but we must also remember that the novel prospect of a queen, at a time when a wise and strong personal government was specially needed, was viewed by many with a large amount of apprehension. It appears that as early as 1514 there were rumours that the lack of heirs was inclining Henry to consider the possibility of a divorce from Catharine of Aragon, although the subsequent birth and survival of the Princess Mary had postponed the question for another ten years.

The Divorce Problem

It is impossible here to follow in detail all the various phases—the bribery, duplicity, and intrigue—connected with the lengthy and tedious divorce suit. The unfortunate Queen Catharine was throughout treated in a cruel and heartless manner, her appeals and protestations were ignored, and she was most arbitrarily forbidden to present her case to the world, while Henry was using every effort to persuade the Pope to gratify his desire. Nor was his petition by any means unusual, as Popes were accustomed to override the canonical

laws of the Church and annul the marriages of powerful princes for weighty political reasons. *Alexander VI had allowed the King of Portugal to marry his deceased wife's sister and the King of Naples to marry his aunt, while the King of Castile had obtained Papal sanction to take a second wife because his first wife was childless.*[1] The Synod of Dublin in 1351 had protested that "it often comes to pass that marriages duly and lawfully contracted are damnably divorced through false and feigned reasons and by corrupt and suborned witnesses, to the most grievous peril of men's souls"; while in 1460 Canterbury Convocation complained of the notorious facilities for procuring illegal divorces "to the scandal of the whole Church."[2]

There were, however, peculiar difficulties with regard to Henry's case. His marriage, although clearly uncanonical, had been expressly licensed by Pope Julius II, and it was a dangerous blow to the infallible claims of the Roman See for the Pope to condemn a bull of his predecessor. But even this hindrance might have been overcome if it could have been proved that Julius II had issued the dispensation on the mistaken assumption that the marriage between Prince Arthur and Catharine had never been fully consummated. Unfortunately, however, it was discovered that Julius had legitimised the marriage unconditionally. Thus the problem that faced the weak and vacillating Pope was especially complicated, and alternately bullied and bribed by the contending parties, Clement VII pursued an unscrupulous and temporising policy.

[1] Cf. A. J. Mason, *Thomas Cranmer*, p. 10, and Pollard, *Cranmer*, p. 32.

[2] Quoted Coulton, *Churchman* article, February, 1909, and see Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii, pp. 241, 579.

His immediate circumstances certainly rendered his position still more unenviable. At the commencement of the suit in 1527 he was imprisoned by the Emperor, and a prospect of release inclined Clement to promise the necessary dispensations. After his escape to Orvieto, however, he suggested that Cardinal Wolsey should judge the matter independently of him, promising to confirm afterwards any fresh marriage that Henry might contract. Henry however, wisely forbore to take so definite a step on such precarious support, well knowing that political complications might speedily render it practically impossible for the Pope to fulfil any such promise. He therefore decided to despatch Gardiner and Fox to Rome to endeavour to persuade the Pope himself to issue a bull annulling the marriage. The influence of Charles V, enlisted both on natural and political grounds on the side of his aunt, prevented Clement from complying with this request. Instead, a commission was granted to Cardinals Wolsey and Campeggio to try the case in England, but with secret instructions that no decision was to be given. After many delays the formal proceedings were commenced, but as Catharine resolutely refused to acknowledge the tribunal and appealed to the Pope, in July 1529 the Commission was finally revoked to Rome and the case indefinitely postponed. But Henry VIII was not the man to be so easily foiled, and he was therefore not long in discovering another means of accomplishing his purpose.

CHAPTER V

THE BREACH WITH ROME

Fall of Wolsey

THIS unwelcome termination to the Legatine Commission was the direct cause of the fall of Cardinal Wolsey. Henry most unjustly caused him to be indicted on a charge of infringing the "Statute of Praemunire" by acting as Papal Legate in England, although he himself had used great efforts to procure this position for the ambitious cardinal. Wolsey was immediately stripped of all his enormous wealth and high offices, Sir Thomas More succeeding him as Lord Chancellor. After an abject submission the King was persuaded to pardon him, and he was restored to his archiepiscopal See of York, whither he retired, and endeavoured to regain some measure of esteem and popularity by a life of charity and humility, in striking contrast to his previous career. His enemies, however, shortly afterwards accused him of high treason, and he died on Nov. 30, 1530, at Leicester Abbey, on his way to London, from the crushing effect of this supreme disgrace.[1]

Cranmer and the Divorce

It is at this critical juncture that we are first introduced to the man whose name must always be vitally

[1] Lord Herbert observes of Wolsey, "If it be true that no man did rise with fewer virtues, it is as true that few that ever fell from so high a place had lesser crimes objected against him."—Quoted in Plummer, *English Church History*, p. 39, *n.*

and inseparably connected with the Reformation of the English Church, and from whom, as a recent biographer asserts, " no one who values the principles of Reformed Catholicism can withhold a thankful admiration."[1] For it was while Henry was disgusted at the issue of the Papal Commission, that Foxe and Gardiner, his almoner and secretary, reported to him the opinion of their old college friend, Dr. Thomas Cranmer, on the divorce. Cranmer, when appealed to, had declared that the right way to decide the question was to consult the opinion of the divines,[2] and had added that the King was not dependent on the Pope, but that " under God he possessed the supreme government over all causes, both ecclesiastical and civil, within his own realm."[3] Henry immediately sent for Cranmer, coarsely declaring " that he had the sow by the right ear."

Cranmer, who most reluctantly exchanged the life of a student for that of a courtier, was now ordered to devote his energies to the divorce question, and he published a treatise in which he asserted that it was contrary to the law of God for a man to marry his brother's wife, and pointed out that, in accordance with the recognised doctrine of the Church, not even the Pope had power to dispense with a direct divine command. He was then despatched to plead Henry's cause before the Pope and Emperor, and also to carry

[1] Canon Mason's *Cranmer*, p. 1.

[2] " I do think," said Cranmer, " that you go not the nearest way to work to bring the matter unto a perfect conclusion. This is most certain, there is but one truth in it, which no men ought or better can discuss than the divines, whose sentence may soon be known and brought to pass with little industry and charges."

[3] Cf. Strype's *Cranmer*, p. 5 (1853), and Baily's *Life of Fisher*, p. 89.

out his own suggestion of consulting the foreign universities, *the majority of which decided in Henry's favour*. Bribery was, however, freely used on both sides. Dr. Crook complained of insufficient funds, and openly asserted that all the Italian universities would agree with Henry "*if they be well handled.*"[1]

Universities Consulted

The two English universities were not, however, so easily persuaded. A strong feeling of opposition to the divorce prevailed both at Oxford and Cambridge, and it needed all the exertions of Gardiner and Foxe, backed up by royal letters containing thinly veiled threats of retribution, to bring the majority of the members into compliance with the King's wishes. The Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, Dr. Buckmaster, declared that he would be universally execrated for the act and that he had "already lost a benefice by it." At Oxford, even after the stern reproof of Archbishop Warham, only the very careful verdict was obtained "that to marry a deceased brother's wife was against the divine law, if the former marriage had been actually consummated."

Fortified by these favourable decisions, Henry made a further attempt to gain the express sanction of the Pope. Gardiner, when in Italy, had already warned Clement of the danger of thwarting the King's wishes,[2] and in July 1530 a threatening letter was despatched to Rome, signed by an influential number

[1] Burnet, vol. ii, p. 112, *Records*, No. 33.

[2] "Bear in mind," said Gardiner, "that you are insulting *the defender of the faith*. You are going to lose the favour of the only monarch who protects you and the Apostolical chair, already tottering, will fall into dust and disappear entirely amidst the applause of all Christendom." Strype, *Memorials*, vol. i, p. 105.

of the clergy and nobility, expressing their surprise and displeasure that the Pope had not at once confirmed the judgment of the universities concerning Henry's divorce, and threatening "to seek for other remedies" if the Pope continued to deny justice to a King so pre-eminent in his defence of the Apostolic See and the Catholic Faith.[1]

But Henry's patience was already almost exhausted, and he was preparing to act on the advice, well suited to his imperious temper, which he had received from Thomas Cromwell, Wolsey's clever but unscrupulous secretary, who urged Henry to rely on his parliament and to proclaim himself the head of the Church of England and dispense with the Pope's consent altogether. "Ought a foreign prelate to share with you your power?" asked Cromwell, "Sir," he continued, "you are but half a king and we but half your subjects!"[2]

Henry's Assertion of Supremacy

Accordingly, in the second session of the Parliament, which lasted from 1529 to 1536 and was to become so memorable in history for its destruction of the Papal power in England, Henry, in order to render the spiritualty completely subservient to his will, ingeniously convicted the whole clergy of the realm of a breach of the "Statute of Praemunire" for being accessory to Wolsey's acts as Papal Legate. It was a most outrageous accusation, as this statute had never been fully enforced and had been so constantly infringed that it was regarded virtually as a dead letter. It was in vain that the clergy pointed out that the

[1] Collier, *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ix, Records No. xiv.
[2] Cf. Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. v, p. 367 (1838).

King himself had connived at the Cardinal's proceedings, by making him his chief minister, for in order to obtain their pardon they were forced to pay the enormous sum, for those times, of nearly £119,000; and in addition were required to acknowledge Henry as the "Supreme Head of the Church of England," a novel title which might easily prove at variance with their oath of allegiance to the Pope.[1]

This new claim, although not directly challenging the supremacy of the Roman see, occasioned heated debates in the Convocations, and was at length only accepted with the important qualification "as far as is lawful by the law of Christ." But in the Supremacy Act of 1534, this saving clause was omitted, and both clergy and laity were forced to acknowledge Henry as "the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England."[2]

How far a New Claim

It is important to bear in mind that, although the recognition of this title by the clergy was new, the claim, in so far as it only asserted the Sovereign's supremacy over all persons and causes, was both a right and a duty which had always been regarded as inherent in the ruler of every independent state. The King, as the natural protector and guardian of the rights of every corporate body within his realm, must always exercise a corrective supervision and jurisdiction

[1] One of the medieval canons then in force expressly stated that "He that acknowledgeth not himself to be under the Bishop of Rome, and that the Bishop of Rome is ordained by God to have primacy over all the world, is a heretick and cannot be saved."—Burnet, vol. ii, p. 321, *Records*, No. 27.

[2] Gee and Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, p. 244.

over the Church.[1] The medieval Popes had persistently endeavoured, often with a large measure of success, to divide this sovereign power within the state, and thus render the clergy virtually an alien body owning exclusive allegiance to a foreign potentate. This policy had however, met with frequent and strenuous resistance. William I had distinctly enacted royal instead of Papal control over the Church,[2] and this had been the real point at issue in the struggles of Henry I with Anselm and of Henry II with Thomas à Becket, while the Second "Statute of Praemunire" (1393) expressly stated that the growing Papal encroachments, if not arrested, would result in the "final destruction of the realm" and the enslavement of the sovereignty of the King to the Pope.[3] Thus, as a modern historian has observed: "The formal assumption of supremacy by Henry VIII was but the last stage of a process which had been going on for almost 500 years."[4] It was therefore Henry's subsequent interpretation of his supremacy that constituted a new and startling departure, virtually amounting to the exercise of powers which had hitherto been exclusively claimed by the Pope as the spiritual Head of the Church. For the Act of Supremacy (1534) granted Henry full spiritual authority and jurisdiction

[1] The laws of Edward the Confessor state "Rex est summus vicarius constitutus, ut regnum et populum Domini, et supra sanctam ecclesiam" (cap 19). A similar claim is repeated in a statute of Henry VII, "Rex est persona mixta cum sacerdote, quia tam ecclesiasticam quam temporalem habet jurisdictionem." Stat. ann 10 Hen. VII, fol. 18. See Usher, *Opuscula duo* (1687) pp. 117, 118.

[2] Cf. Stubbs' *Select Charters*, p. 82 (1890).

[3] Gee and Hardy, p. 123.

[4] C. Beard, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 307-8 (1883).

to correct and reform all errors and heresies ;[1] by virtue of which Cromwell was appointed to the novel office of "Vicar General" and vested with a supreme authority superseding that of the Primate and the diocesan bishops. This power to "correct heresies," simply by virtue of his supremacy, really amounted to a claim, which no previous English king had ever advanced, to determine matters of doctrine for the National Church independently of the authority of the Papal See.

The Commons took advantage of this humiliation of the spiritualty, to petition the King to redress the burdensome privileges and exactions of the clergy. They complained of ecclesiastical canons being enacted without the King's assent, of the excessive fees imposed by the spiritual courts, of the practice of conferring benefices on minors, of the number of holy days encouraging "execrable vices and idle and wanton sports," and of the subtle methods employed in trying heretics, by which innocent but "unlearned laymen" were often unjustly condemned.

In reply, Convocation denied most of these serious charges, although they apologised if any persons had been unjustly imprisoned, but declared their ignorance of any accused heretic being vexed with subtle questions. They refused, however, to submit their canons to the judgment or approval of the King, and they prayed him as their "chief protector" to aid them in carrying out their spiritual duties.[2]

[1] Gee and Hardy, p. 244. The actual words are "visit, reform, order, and amend all heresies which by any manner spiritual authority or jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed, ordered, etc." 26 H. VIII, c. 1. See also 37 H. VIII, c. 17.

[2] Gee and Hardy, pp. 146-75.

Submission of the Clergy

Henry was, however, far from satisfied with this vindication,[1] and thus on May 16th, 1532, Convocation was forced to agree to what is known as the *Submission of the Clergy*, in which they acknowledged that Convocation ought to be assembled by the King's writ, and definitely promised to enact no new canons without royal licence and assent, and to assist in revising the existing canons, so that all those not repugnant to God's law and the King's prerogative might receive his assent, and the rest henceforth "be void and of none effect, and never be put in execution within this realm."[2]

This stringent anti-clerical legislation led to the retirement of Sir Thomas More, the Lord Chancellor, who seeing that a rupture with Rome was inevitable gladly resigned an office which he had most unwillingly undertaken.

A long-standing and most burdensome exaction was removed in this session by the passing of the Act in 1532 to restrain the payment of Annates, or first fruits, to the See of Rome.[3] As much as £160,000 had been paid to the Roman Curia in this way alone since 1487, and it was now declared that Papal bulls for consecrating bishops should be procured at a fixed rate of 5 per cent. on the annual income of the See.[4] The

[1] He told the Commons: "We think their answer will smally please you, for it seemeth to us very slender."—Stubbs, *Historical Appendix* (iv), p. 91.

[2] Cf. Gee and Hardy, pp. 177-8. As the committee appointed for this purpose never completed its work, all the old canon laws not repugnant or contrarient to the King's prerogative, or the laws of the realm, are still technically valid.

[3] See p. 38.

[4] Gee and Hardy, pp. 180-2. The clergy, however, obtained no

Act was, however, to remain in abeyance a year in the hope that some friendly settlement of the question might, meanwhile, be arrived at between the King and the Pope.[1] Although couched in moderate language it was only through the strong personal influence of the Crown that the bill passed through parliament.

Cranmer, Archbishop

In August 1532 Archbishop Warham, the generous patron of the New Learning died, and Henry selected Cranmer as his successor. He was at the time acting as ambassador in Germany,[2] and his love of retirement and his gentle and somewhat diffident disposition led him instinctively to shrink from such a pre-eminently responsible position. "He had no love to meddle with affairs of state, for which he was not very proper, by reasons of certain maxims of candour and sincerity which he followed, and which were the very opposite to those generally observed in the government of states."[3] There is little doubt that Cranmer was perfectly sincere when he declared at his trial that "there was never man came more unwillingly to a bishoprick than I did to that. Insomuch that when King Henry did send for me in post that I should come

financial relief, as the payment of Annates was merely transferred to the Crown until they were at length restored to the Church by Queen Anne.

[1] Henry wrote to Rome, 21st March, 1532: "I do not mean to deceive them (the Pope and the Cardinals) but to tell them the fact that this statute will be to their advantage if they show themselves deserving of it, but not otherwise. Nothing has been defined at present, which must be to their advantage if they do not despise my friendship." (*Letters and Papers, Reign of Henry VIII*, vol. v. p. 415.)

[2] Cranmer had just taken as his second wife the niece of Osiander, a Lutheran divine, and so would not be a very acceptable candidate to the Pope.

[3] Rapin, *History of England*, bk. xvi, p. 4 (1734).

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER

From the portrait by G. Fliccius in the National Portrait Gallery.

over I prolonged my journey by seven weeks at the least, thinking that he would be forgetful of me in the meantime."[1] One very practical obstacle was his strong objection to take the customary oaths of allegiance to the Pope binding him to "be faithful and obedient" to the Pope and his successors, and "to defend, augment, and promote the rights, honours, privileges, and authorities of the Church of Rome."[2]

Henry, however, was determined to secure him, and at length Cranmer was persuaded that he could conscientiously take the objectionable oath by protesting at his consecration that "he did not admit the Pope's authority *any further than it agreed with the express word of God*, and that it might be lawful for him at all times to speak against him and impugn his errors when there should be occasion."[3] On account of this action Cranmer's enemies afterwards accused him of perjury, but as he had at that time no doctrinal quarrel with the Roman Church, it was rather the gratuitous act of an overscrupulous nature. Cranmer, as Canon Mason well points out,[4] desired to claim for himself the same liberty to criticise the authority and actions of Popes which every prelate had freely exercised in the Councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basle, despite their oaths to the Pope. In an unusually short time Henry managed, by subtle threats and promises, to procure the necessary bulls from Rome, and Cranmer was consecrated on March 30th, 1533.

Meanwhile, in the previous January, Henry had been secretly married to Anne Boleyn, and as there was

[1] Cranmer's *Remains*, p. 223.
[2] Collier, *ut supra*, vol. iv, p. 194 (1840).
[3] Strype's *Cranmer*, vol. i, p. 24.
[4] *Thomas Cranmer*, p. 29.

already the prospect of issue by her, it was imperative that steps should be immediately taken to annul his former marriage with Catharine. An Act was therefor passed, forbidding under severe penalties all appeals to Rome, and declaring that the English nation was a " complete body within itself, with full power to adjudicate in all cases, spiritual as well as temporal," without any foreign interference. All ecclesiastical causes were in future to be determined by the spiritual Courts within the kingdom, and final appeals were to be referred to the Archbishop or the Dean of the Arches, or, in the case of the King, to the Upper House of Convocation.[1]

The Pope's judgment having been thus dispensed with, the Canterbury Convocation decided almost unanimously that Henry's marriage with Catharine had been contrary to the law of God, and could not therefore be dispensed by the Pope. Accordingly Archbishop Cranmer, after vainly attempting to obtain her acquiescence in this decision, declared Catharine contumacious for refusing to appear at his Court, and " on the morrow after Ascension Day " he pronounced the final sentence against her.

On June 1st, 1533, Cranmer publicly crowned Anne Boleyn, and on September 7th the future Queen Elizabeth was born, and shortly afterwards created Princess of Wales.

Henry Excommunicated

Although this bold and defiant policy constituted a deliberate act of rebellion against the claims of the Papacy, a final effort was made to prevent a complete breach with the See of Rome. The Pope declared

[1] Gee and Hardy, pp. 187-95.

Henry's marriage with Anne Boleyn null and void, threatening to excommunicate the King unless he reversed the late proceedings. Henry, in reply, appealed from the Pope to the next General Council.[1] At this crisis Francis, King of France, intervened and prevailed on Henry, with secret assurances of a favourable decision, to submit the whole matter to the judgment of the Pope and the Consistory. He also persuaded the Pope to agree to this arrangement. The courier from England, however, with Henry's acceptance of this proposal, arrived two days after the prescribed time, and the Imperialists, representing this delay as an intentional contempt of the Apostolic See, persuaded the Pope to decide the case forthwith, and thus on March 23rd, 1534, sentence was given for Catharine, and Henry was required, under penalty of the censures of the Church, to take her again as his lawful wife. On the arrival of the King's courier an attempt was made to reverse this decision, but the Emperor's adherents were too powerful, and the bull of excommunication was promulgated.[2] On such a trivial issue did the final rupture with Rome and the fate of the Reformation in England seem to hang!

Appeals to Rome forbidden

Meanwhile in the Parliament, which sat from January to March, 1534, the memorable Acts were passed which finally destroyed the power of Rome in England. Anti-papal feeling was evidently making rapid strides, as we are told that "during the two former sessions the

[1] In 1537 Henry refused to appear at a General Council the Pope had summoned to meet at Mantua, maintaining that it pertained to "Christian princes" and not to the Pope to call a "true General Council."

[2] Burnet, vol. i, pp. 179-81; and Collier, vol. iv, pp. 226-7.

bishops had preached that a General Council was above the Pope, but in this session they struck a higher note, and a bishop preached every Sunday at Paul's Cross that the Pope had no authority at all in England."[1] The first Act carried was "The Submission of the Clergy and Restraint of Appeals," embodying in statutory form the submission wrung from the clergy in 1532. It also extended the "Appeals Act" of the previous year by authorising a final appeal from the Archbishop's Court to the King in Chancery, who was empowered to appoint delegates to try the case.[2] This Court of Delegates was abolished in 1832, when the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was constituted the supreme court of appeal for ecclesiastical causes.

The next Act forbade any "bulls, briefs, or palls"[3] to be procured from Rome, and ordered that in future all archbishops and bishops should be elected by the cathedral chapter on receipt of the King's license naming the person appointed (*congé d'élire*). Refusal to elect or consecrate incurred the liability to the penalties of a *praemunire*.

By the Act, which followed this, forbidding Papal dispensations and the payment of Peter's Pence, Englishmen were freed from all dependence whatso-

[1] Burnet, vol. i, p. 190.

[2] This ultimate appeal for all suits to a lay Court finally abolished the exclusive and independent jurisdiction of the old "Spiritual" Courts.

[3] The pall (*pallium*), a narrow band, woven of white wool and garnished with six purple crosses, worn over the chasuble, was originally in the West a vestment peculiar to the Popes and had come to symbolise the plenitude of ecclesiastical power. From the thirteenth century onward the rule had been obligatory that all archbishops must receive the pall from Rome before exercising the functions of their office. The prohibition of procuring palls from Rome therefore symbolized the rejection of the papal jurisdiction.

ever on Rome, although, probably with the chance of an agreement being arrived at between the Pope and Henry, the latter was given full power to annul its provisions at any time before St. John the Baptist's Day, after which they were to be absolute. No license or dispensation from Rome was to be sued for or used within the realm, but, if not contrary to the law of God, they were to be procured from the two Archbishops, and no person was permitted to attend an ecclesiastical council held outside the realm. Monasteries, hitherto under the special care of the Pope, were henceforth to be subject to the visitation of the Crown. A significant clause was, however, added, stating that nothing contained in the Act should hereafter be interpreted as an intention of "varying from the congregation of Christ's Church in any things concerning the very articles of the Catholic Church of Christendom, or in any other things declared by Holy Scripture necessary for salvation."[1] It is therefore most important to bear in mind that, notwithstanding the mention of an appeal to Holy Scripture, which became the foundation-stone of all the work accomplished later by the doctrinal reformers, all these stringent Acts against the Apostolic See constituted merely a legal or political, and in no sense a doctrinal, reformation. As Archbishop Bramhall very pertinently points out, the many Acts which passed in the reign of Henry VIII, declaring the independence of the Church of England, were passed by Roman Catholics, when there was no thought of any Reformation. "There was," as he says, "not one Protestant among them." If it was this separation from Rome which constituted a schism, then the authors

[1] Gee and Hardy, p. 225.

of it—Gardiner, Tunstall, Heath, Bonner and Stokesley —"the greatest opposers of the Reformation and the greatest enemies of the Protestants"—were the schismatics. It was not until Edward's day that the Church of England embraced the *doctrines* of the Reformation.[1] Henry VIII had not the slightest intention of departing from the recognised teaching of medieval Catholicism. He had always been regarded as a most loyal and zealous son of the Church, and his book against Luther had induced the Pope to bestow on him the proud title of *Defender of the Faith*, while even his last appeal to the Pope on the divorce question showed quite clearly that he was not actuated by any Protestant leanings. "No Princes heretofore," he wrote, "have more highly esteemed nor honoured the See Apostolic than we have; wherefore we be the more sorry to be provoked to this contention, which to our usage and nature is most alienate and abhorred."[2]

It would also be a mistake to suppose that even the work of destroying Papal jurisdiction in England which the "Reformation Parliament" had just accomplished was entirely novel and revolutionary. The abolition of Papal dispensations and Peter's Pence was, indeed, a fresh departure, while Henry's interpretation of his claim to supremacy over the Church was certainly an innovation, but in the main the anti-papal legislation had been based on *an appeal to precedent*. The appointment of bishops by *congé d'élire* was similar to a provision of the "Constitutions of Claren-

[1] Cf. *Works*, I, 120-2, and II, 218-21. "If," observes Bramhall, "this profession of royal supremacy in our sense, do make men 'heretics and schismatics' we shall sweep away the most part of the Roman doctors." *Ibid.*

[2] Burnet, vol. ii, p. 139, *Records*, No. 42.

don," although in practice their election had usually been the result of an arrangement between the King and Pope. Again, the claim of the supreme appellate ecclesiastical jurisdiction involved in the appointment of the " Court of Delegates " had also been attempted by Henry II.[1] William I had definitely forbidden the clergy in Convocation to enact canons without his previous consent,[2] while, even for the new law to appoint and consecrate bishops without Papal bulls or consent, there could have been found precedents in Anglo-Saxon times.

Anti-papal Legislation popular

We must also bear in mind that even anti-ecclesiastical legislation was welcomed at this time, owing to the wealth, immunities, and oppressive exactions of the clergy ; so that the rejection of the Pope's authority and jurisdiction was by no means unpopular. Bishop Tunstall informed Cardinal Pole in 1536 that he was mistaken in asserting the Act to be contrary to the wishes of the people, adding that " If the King at this day should go about to renew in his realm the abolished authority of the Bishop of Rome, I think he would find much more difficulty to bring it about in his Parliament and to induce his people to agree thereunto than anything that he ever purposed."[3]

Before this famous Parliament finally concluded its sittings the succession to the Crown was settled on the daughter of Anne Boleyn, and all persons were required, under penalty of treason, to swear that they would maintain this Act.[4]

[1] Cf. Stubbs' *Select Charters*, vol. i, pp. 82 and 139-40.
[2] Stubbs' *Select Charters*, pp. 82 and 139-40.
[3] Burnet, vol. vi, p. 152, *Records*, No. 52.
[4] This Act of Succession (1534) declared the marriage of Henry

More impartial treatment was also obtained for heretics, who were in future to be proceeded against in open court on the testimony of at least two witnesses, and if found guilty and refusing to abjure, were to be condemned to death under the King's writ *de haeretico comburendo*, but they were not to be troubled for speaking against the Pope's canons or laws.

In June, 1534, the King had issued a proclamation "abolishing the usurped power of the Pope," while some months previously the Convocations of Canterbury and York had officially declared "that the Bishop of Rome hath not in Scripture[1] any greater jurisdiction in the kingdom of England than any other foreign bishop."[2] In case, however, any persons should presume to question the propriety of Henry's supremacy, an outrageous "Treason Act" was passed, by which those who *imagined* any harm to the King or even *wished* to deprive him of any title were adjudged guilty of high treason.[3]

By such Acts this subservient Parliament smoothed the way for the era of royal tyranny and despotism which was so soon to follow.

with the Lady Catherine, "Princess Dowager," to be null and void.

[1] This presumably could leave room for tradition or Church authority.

[2] [3] Gee and Hardy, pp. 252 and 248.

CHAPTER VI

THE RISE OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMERS

THE mortal struggle between Henry and the Pope, which had now been brought to such a momentous conclusion, materially if indirectly aided the cause of those who were looking, not merely, like Henry VIII, for the overthrow of the Pope's temporal jurisdiction in England, but for a real spiritual reformation which should sweep away the doctrinal errors and abuses of medieval Christianity. The ecclesiastical independence secured by the legal separation of the English Church from Rome rendered it possible for a reform of this kind to be undertaken without reference to the opinions or regard for the censures of the Apostolic See.

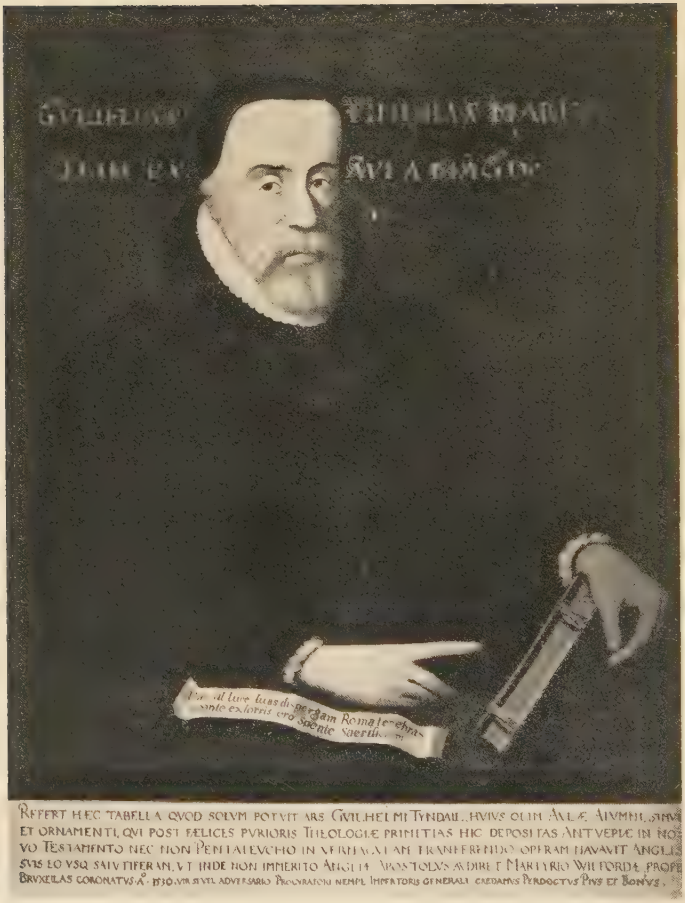
Luther's Writings

In 1517, Martin Luther, an Augustinian friar, and professor at Wittenburg, in his famous *Ninety-Five Theses*, had fearlessly exposed and denounced the dangerously false and unscriptural teaching given and implied by the popular presentation of the medieval doctrine concerning penance, pardons and papal Indulgences. In 1520 he had published his three great Reformation treatises on "Christian Liberty," the "Appeal to the German Nobility" and "the Babylonish Captivity of the Church." In these Luther had not only exposed the abuses and superstitions connected

with the elaborate sacramental system of the Medieval Church, but he had also vigorously attacked the whole principle of justification by works on which its characteristic doctrines and practices rested. As early as 1521 Luther's writings were freely circulated in England. Thus the small company of obscure Lollard "heretics" were being rapidly reinforced by numbers of the learned and influential, who by imbibing Lutheran opinions soon began to dissent from much of the current orthodox teaching and practice.

Luther had insisted on the unique importance of the Scriptures, contending that the soul could do without everything except the Word of God, "without which none at all of its wants are provided for."[1] At a time when it was generally believed that all grace and salvation were obtained through the sacramental and penitential systems of the Church, we can scarcely imagine what a revolution in religious thought must have been effected by Luther's cardinal tenet of "justification by faith alone," and his forcible insistence on the novel theory of the priesthood of all believers. All Christians, he asserted, were "equally priests and had the same power in the Word and in any sacrament whatever," although "it was not lawful for anyone to use this power, except with the consent of the community or at the call of a superior." An injustice had been done by limiting the word "priest" to those few called "ecclesiastics," for Holy Scripture made no distinction between Christians, "except that those who are now boastfully called popes, bishops, and lords, it calls ministers, servants, and stewards, who are

[1] Luther's *Primary Works* (Wace and Buchheim), p. 258 (on "Christian Liberty").


REFERT HEC TABELLA QVOD SOLVM POTVIT ARS GVILHELMI TYNDALI..HVIVS OLIM AVLÆ AIVMNIL..STHVI
ET ORNAMENTI, QVI POST FELICES PVRIORIS THEOLOGIÆ PRIMITIAS HIC DEPOSITAS ANTVERPIÆ IN NOS
VO TESTAMENTO NEC NON PENTATEVCHO IN VERNACVLAM TRANSFERENDO OPERAM DAVIT ANGLIS
SVIS LO VSQ SALVTIFERAM, VT INDE NON IMMERITO ANGLIÆ APOSTOLVS AUDIRE I MARTYRIO WILFORDÆ PROFE
BRVXELLAS CORONATVS A° M°D°XXXVI SEVIL ADVERSARIO PRAVORATIONI NEMPE IMPERATORIS GENERALI CAESARIS PERDOCTVS PIVS ET BONVS.

William Tyndale

From the portrait at Hertford College, Oxford

By permission of the Principal and Fellows.

to serve the rest in the ministry of the Word."[1]

As early as 1521 Luther's writings seem to have made a distinct impression on our universities, for Archbishop Warham wrote in that year to Cardinal Wolsey earnestly beseeching him to take prompt action to put down heresy at Oxford, " for if sharpness be not used now in this land, many one shall be right bold to do ill." Wolsey was, however, personally disinclined to proceed to extreme measures, and he therefore contented himself with publicly burning a number of Lutheran publications.

But although accelerated and largely influenced by the movement in Germany, the English Reformation was by no means dependent on the teachings of Luther or of any of the foreign Reformers.

Tyndale

Even before the writings of the celebrated Wittenberg monk had reached England, three young Cambridge scholars, Tyndale, Bilney, and Fryth, were earnestly engaged in studying Erasmus' Greek Testament, and in imparting its precious truths to others. William Tyndale, a Gloucestershire man of good family, was in all probability the " certain well-informed young man " who in 1516 " began to lecture with success on Greek literature at Oxford."[2] Shortly after this he migrated to Cambridge, and in 1520 accepted the post of tutor to Sir John Walsh's family at Little

[1] Luther's *Primary Works*, pp. 267-70, 399. " It belongs to each and every Christian," said Luther, " to know and judge of doctrine." " For all Christians are truly of the clergy and there is among them no difference save of office alone, as Paul says, that we are all one body, yet has each member its own office, that it may serve the others." *Ibid*, p. 164.

[2] Erasmus, *Ep.*, p. 346.

Sodbury. While here he soon became suspected of heretical leanings by his constant appeal to the Scriptures. To one learned divine who had rashly asserted that "we were best without God's laws than the Pope's," Tyndale exclaimed, "I defy the Pope and all his laws, and if God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plough to know more of the Scripture than thou dost."[1]

To carry out this resolve now became his main object. "Because I had perceived by experience," he says, "how that it was impossible to establish the lay-people in any truth, except the Scripture was plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue, that they might see the process, order, and meaning of the text."[2] Finding it dangerous to remain in Gloucestershire, and failing to obtain the patronage of Bishop Tunstall, the scholarly and liberal-minded friend of Erasmus, Tyndale was hospitably received by a wealthy London merchant, named Humphrey Monmouth, a generous patron of all scholars, and a secret sympathiser with reforming views. While here he was joined by John Fryth and began the translation of the New Testament. But the energetic measures which were soon taken for the suppression of "heretics," obliged Tyndale, in 1524, to seek an asylum on the Continent; for "I understood," he says, "at the last not only that

[1] Tyndale's *Doctrinal Treatises*, p. 19.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 394. Erasmus had expressed the same desire. "I entirely dissent from those who are unwilling that the sacred Scriptures should be read by the unlearned translated into their vulgar tongue, as though Christ had taught such subtelties that they can scarcely be understood even by a few theologians, or as though the strength of the Christian religion consisted in men's ignorance of it. The mysteries of kings it may be safer to conceal, but Christ wished His mysteries to be published as openly as possible." Erasmus, *Omnia Opera*, vol. v, p. 140 (Leyden, 1703-6).

there was no room in my lord of London's palace to translate the New Testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all England."[1]

His New Testament

Tyndale landed in Hamburg, and probably from there visited Wittenberg, and apparently soon after sent over the first two Gospels to England.[2] When the translation was almost completed he removed to Cologne, but the nature of his task being discovered, he had great difficulty in escaping with his precious (partly printed) Testaments and manuscripts to Worms. In 1525 the first edition of the printed English New Testament, hidden in bales of merchandise, was smuggled into England, and it was followed in the same year by a quarto edition, containing a doctrinal treatise and marginal notes. Henry immediately put forth a proclamation ordering Tyndale's New Testaments to be burned as "untrue translations," declaring them to be "for the advancement and setting forth of Luther's abominable heresies!" Accordingly Archbishop Warham strictly enjoined his suffragans to make diligent search for any copies which might have been circulated.

But in spite of these stringent precautions numbers of Tyndale's New Testaments had apparently already been clandestinely dispersed, for even before this order Bishop Tunstall had informed his archdeacons that this translation of the New Testament into the English tongue was mixed with "many heretical articles and erroneous opinions, pernicious and offensive, seducing the simple people," and that this "pestiferous and

[1] *Ibid*, p. 396.
[2] Cf. *ibid*, p. 27.

most pernicious poison" was "dispersed throughout all our diocese in great numbers."[1]

Archbishop Warham and Bishop Tunstall spent large sums of money in purchasing and solemnly burning these New Testaments, and this peculiarly shortsighted method of arresting their circulation merely furnished Tyndale with funds to issue several fresh editions, and also to commence a new and thorough revision, which was published in 1534. He had also begun a translation of the Old Testament, and the Pentateuch was published in 1530.

That Tyndale's translation, the first ever made into English from the original Hebrew and Greek, was the work of a man of profound learning is evident from the fact that it has stood the test of modern scholarship and research, and is substantially the same as the one now in use. That the allegations made by Henry and the bishops that it was "untrue" or "wilfully perverted" were grossly unjust, and merely served as a pretext for the condemnation of the Scriptures in the vernacular.[2] As a distinguished authority has stated: "In rendering the sacred text, Tyndale remained throughout faithful to the instincts of a scholar. From first to last his style and his interpretation are his own, and in the originality of Tyndale is included in a large measure the originality of our English version."[3]

[1] Tyndale's *Doctrinal Treatises*, p. 32.

[2] Bishop Latimer aptly retorted to an opponent, "You say you condemn not the Scriptures, but Tyndale's translation. Therein you show yourself contrary to your words, for ye have condemned it in all other common tongues, wherein they be approved in other countries. To this it is plain that it is the Scriptures and not the translation that you rail against, calling it *new learning*."—*Latimer's Remains*, p. 320.

[3] Bishop West, quoted in Lovett, *The Printed English Bible*, p. 35.

We can, therefore, only deplore the prejudice and partiality of a modern historian who apparently endorses Sir T. More's opinion that Tyndale's New Testament "was a mischievous perversion of those (sacred) writings, intended to advance heretical opinions,"[1] because in it the familiar words, "church," "priests," and "charity" were more correctly translated from the Greek as "congregation," "elders" and "love!"

Tyndale's New Testaments, which were widely circulated and eagerly read, were also being supplemented by his doctrinal treatises, which not only expounded the truths specially emphasized by the Reformers, but assailed in bold and even bitter language the accepted teaching and practice of the medieval Church.

More and Tyndale

But Sir T. More, whose zeal for current orthodoxy led him to undertake the task of refuting these "new opinions," soon proved himself a controversialist equally scathing and acrimonious. He began his attack by condemning the distinctive opinions of the Reformers, *defending the practice of burning heretics*, and discrediting Tyndale's translation of the Scriptures. He also charged Tyndale with Antinomianism, on account of his strong insistence on the doctrine of Justification by Faith, although Tyndale had carefully explained the relation of works to faith. "If any man

[1] Gairdner, *English Church in Sixteenth Century*, p. 190. Professor Pollard well remarks, "If a knowledge of the Scriptures tended to make men heretics, that was the fault of the Church. As for the 'mischievous perversion' that surely consisted in enforcing a translation which implied a whole world of ideas not contained in the original. If Tyndale's translation is a mischievous perversion what is the Revised Version, which for the most part adopts Tyndale's phrases?" *Life of Cranmer*, p. 110 note.

ask me, seeing that faith justifieth me, why I work, I answer, 'Love compelleth me.' For as long as my soul feeleth what God hath shewed me in Christ, I cannot but love God again, and His will and commandments, and of love work them."[1]

Tyndale replied by carefully tracing the origin and gradual abuse of most of the ceremonies and customs then practised. He was willing to concede a legitimate use of images, relics, and pilgrimages. "To kneel before the cross unto the Word of God, which the cross preacheth, is not evil. . . . But to believe that God will be sought more in one place than in another, or that God will hear thee more where the image is than where it is not, is a false faith and idolatry."[2] He strongly repudiated the doctrine of transubstantiation.[3] "It is not Christ's very body, as they would make thee believe, in the bread, in so many places at once. But the bread, broken and eaten in the Supper, nourisheth and putteth us in remembrance of His death, and so exciteth us to thanksgiving, to laud and praise, for the benefit of our redemption, and thus we have there Christ present, in the inward eye and sight of our faith. We eat His body and drink His blood; that is, we believe surely that His body was crucified for our sins, and His blood shed for our salvation."[4]

More, in his *Confutation* of this reply, condemns the Reformers in most violent language as those "who

[1] *Doctrinal Treatises*, p. 418.

[2] Tyndale's *Answer to More*, pp. 60-2.

[3] The medieval definition of transubstantiation was most materialistic. Pope Nicholas II (1059) compelled Berengarius in his recantation to declare "that the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ sensually, not only in Sacrament but in truth, is handled by the priest's hands and broken and grinded by the teeth of the faithful." *Apud Gratianum de consecratione*, dist ii, c. 42.

[4] Tyndale's *Answer to More*, p. 236.

would seem Christ's apostles and play the devil's dicers; speaking much of the Spirit, with no more devotion than dogs," but he gave an indirect testimony to the rapid spread of reformed opinions when he was forced to admit that no dangers seem to hinder them printing their books and "sending them hither by whole vats full at once."[1]

Reformers at Oxford and Cambridge

Strenuous efforts were put forth by the bishops to prevent the growth of heresy, and a determined attempt was made to deal with those secretly disseminating this new teaching at the universities. Garret, a curate of a City church, and Dalaber had undertaken the perilous task of circulating Tyndale's New Testament and other reforming publications at Oxford, with the result that quite a number of the students, especially at Cardinal College,[2] were affected with "Lutheranism," and were holding secret meetings and inflaming others. The Warden of New College described them as the "most towardly young men in the university," while Warham wrote in alarm that "One or two cankered members have induced no small number of young and incircumspect fools to give ear unto them,"[3] and he obliged Wolsey, who had himself specially selected the majority of these Lutheran sympathisers from a number of scholarly Cambridge men to be canons of his new college, to issue orders for their arrest as suspected heretics. Garret was seized and imprisoned, but afterwards managed to escape. A number of

[1] *Doctrinal Treatises*, p. lii.

[2] Recently founded by Wolsey on a magnificent scale from the revenues of certain suppressed monasteries.

[3] Cf. Headlam, *Oxford*, p. 300 (*Medieval Towns*), and Foxe, vol. v, pp. 5 and 428.

others, amongst whom were John Clarke, Richard Cox, Geoffrey Harman, Robert Ferrar and John Fryth, were condemned, and compelled to bear a faggot in solemn procession to furnish a bonfire for their heretical books. Four of them died from the effects of their prolonged imprisonment in a dark, unhealthy cellar, in consequence of which the rest were liberated, and Fryth joined Tyndale on the Continent.

Bilney and Latimer

The Reformers were even stronger at Cambridge. The enthusiastic preaching of Bilney and Fryth had won over many converts to the "new" doctrines. Bilney, a man of deep piety and learning, had endeavoured, in vain, to find spiritual satisfaction in the vigils, fasts, masses and indulgences prescribed for him by the priests, and it was only on reading Erasmus's New Testament that St. Paul's statement "that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief,"[1] at length brought peace to his troubled conscience. "This one sentence did so exhilarate my heart, being before wounded with the guilt of my sins, and being almost in despair, that immediately I felt a marvellous comfort and quietness."[2] By the earnestness of his testimony he soon influenced a number of others to join him in diligently studying the Scriptures. But this enthusiasm for the Scriptures soon brought him into conflict with Hugh Latimer, a rising young scholar, who afterwards described himself as being then "as obstinate a Papist as any in England."[3] Latimer in his zeal for the authority and teaching of

[1] I Tim. i, 15.
[2] Foxe, vol. iv, p. 635.
[3] Latimer's *Sermons*, p. 334.

the Church, denounced the "new opinions" in no measured terms, and condemned in the most violent language the teaching of Philip Melancthon, and especially his claim that even the "Sentences" or opinions of such celebrated schoolmen as Thomas Aquinas must be tested by the touchstone of Holy Scripture. Bilney, recognising him to be one of the foremost champions of medieval theology, determined to make an attempt to convince him of his error in denouncing the study of the Scriptures. Accordingly, under the plea of asking him to hear his confession, Bilney related to Latimer the story of his own spiritual experience, with the result that "from that time forward I began," says Latimer, "to smell the word of God, and forsook the school-doctors and such fooleries."[1] This sudden change of front was a most welcome accession of strength to the reformers, for Latimer's graphic and forcible style of preaching soon became most popular, and he no longer taught that peace and pardon were to be sought in implicit obedience to the Church's laborious system of fasts, penances, and pilgrimages, but in humble reliance on the atoning merits of Christ's death. He so vigorously denounced the vices and superstitions of the time that one of his hearers declared, "He spake nothing but it left, as it were, certain pricks or stings in the hearts of the hearers, which moved them to consent to his doctrine. None except the stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart went away from his sermons which were not led with a mind of repentance of their former life, detestation of sin, and moved into all godliness and virtue."[2]

[1] Latimer's *Sermons*, p. 335. [2] Works of Becon, *Catechism*, etc., p. 425.

Barnes

This fearless and faithful preaching soon incurred the suspicion and animosity of the Bishop of Ely, who inhibited Latimer from preaching in his diocese. Shortly afterwards, owing to a violent sermon preached by Dr. Barnes[1] against the bishops and clergy, the Cambridge Reformers were summoned to London to answer for their views before the all-powerful Cardinal. Barnes at first resolutely refused to abjure his teaching, but the fear of the stake at length overcame him, and he made a full recantation.

Latimer was also charged with heresy, but after a careful examination the Cardinal not only discharged him, but granted him a license to preach throughout England, and in 1530 he was appointed one of the King's chaplains. Bilney was induced to promise on oath that he would always preach against Luther's opinions. But the shame of having thus violated his conscience led him, shortly after his return to Cambridge, to commence, in company with his friend Arthur, earnest evangelistic preaching in the Eastern Counties, in which he denounced pilgrimages, the worship of saints, and the veneration of relics. They were both soon arrested, and in November 1527, condemned as heretics. Arthur was soon induced to submit, but it was only due to the strong persuasions and kindly forbearance of Bishop Tunstall, who managed the trial, that Bilney at last consented to sign a full recantation, and after going through the prescribed degradation of a public procession to St. Paul's, was once more set at liberty. He went back

[1] He was the able, but polemical, prior of the Augustine Friars.

to Cambridge for another three years, but the recollection of his unfaithfulness in his hour of trial so tortured him that at length he returned to his native county of Norfolk, and recommenced earnestly proclaiming the doctrines he had abjured. He was again apprehended, and condemned as a relapsed heretic by the Bishop of Norwich, and as he firmly resisted all efforts to induce him once more to abjure his opinions, he patiently met a martyr's death at Norwich in 1531. More asserted that he again recanted at the stake, but this calumny was indignantly denied by Matthew Parker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who was present at his execution.

It was about this time that a lawyer, named Simon Fish, published a subtle attack on the doctrine of purgatory, one of the main bulwarks of medieval theology, in a pamphlet entitled the *Supplication of Beggars*. Fish portrayed the lamentable condition of a number of poor, sick, and impotent beggars who were unable to obtain alms on account of the army of monks and mass priests, "another sort of counterfeit holy and idle beggars and vagabonds," who, under the pretext of delivering souls from purgatory, appropriated all the charitable offerings of the people. He prayed the King to "set these sturdy loobies abroad in the world to take them wives of their own, to get their living by the sweat of their faces, according to the commandment of God."[1]

[1] Foxe, vol. iv, pp. 658-664. This scathing attack by a layman was a striking illustration of one of Luther's *Theses* (No. 81) when he said "This licence in the preaching of pardons, makes it no easy thing, even for learned men to protect the reverence due to the Pope against the calumnies, or at all events, the keen questionings of the laity." Luther's *Primary Works*, p. 420.

The rapid dissemination of books of this kind led Bishop Tunstall to invite Sir T. More, as "the keenest champion of Catholic truth," to put forth "in our own language something to expose to simple and unlearned men the crafty malignity of the heretics."[1] In answer to this appeal, More published the *Supplication of Souls*, in which he depicted the terror of the souls in purgatory lest Christian people should cease to pray and give alms for their release from suffering. He railed at Luther, accused Tyndale of wilfully mistranslating his New Testament, and endeavoured to find a Scriptural basis for the doctrine of purgatory. He also issued, as Lord Chancellor, a fierce proclamation, ordering the diligent suppression of heretical books, and advocating a persecuting policy, completely contradictory to the enlightened and tolerant principles he had previously enunciated in his *Utopia*.[2]

Fryth and More

His treatise in defence of purgatory was answered in a learned and temperate style by John Fryth, who asserted that purgatory could not be proved by Scripture, and was not required on account of any defect of our repentance in this life, because "our sins were not pardoned for our repentance or the perfection of it, but only for the merits and sufferings of Christ; and that if our repentance is sincere, God accepts of it; and sin, being once pardoned, could not be further

[1] Burnet, vol. ii, p. 9, *Records* No. 6.

[2] In the *Utopia* More wrote: "Kynge Utopus . . . gave to every man free libertie and choyse to believe what he woulde." Although he definitely advocated this ideal, More fully recognised the practical impossibility of achieving it at that time. "Many things there be in the Utopian weal publique which in our cities I may rather wish for than hope after" (pp. 126 and 144).

punished."[1] Shortly afterwards, Fryth, having rashly returned to England, was arrested by the Chancellor and unjustly imprisoned in the Tower, and while there he wrote, without the aid of books, an able and masterly reply to More's criticisms of his views on the Eucharist.

He showed that the Fathers knew nothing of the medieval doctrine of transubstantiation, and challenged More to prove from their writings that the Sacrament should be worshipped, a practice which he calls " plain idolatry." " There is none of the old Fathers, but they call it a Sacrament, a mystery, mystical meat, which is not eaten with tooth and belly, but with ears and faith. . . Therefore it followeth that they took not the text after the letter, but only spiritually." Although inclining to the teaching of the Swiss Reformers on the Lord's Supper, Fryth adopted the liberal and charitable attitude that this highly controversial doctrine should not be made a necessary article of faith, but be left " indifferent for every man to judge therein, as God shall open his heart ; and no side to condemn the other, but to nourish in all things brotherly love, and to bear others' infirmities."[2] He, himself, promised to abstain from writing against the received view of the Sacrament, if his opponents would only allow that it ought not to be worshipped.

It was not to be expected that this principle, so entirely out of harmony with the intolerant spirit of the age, would be accepted, and thus, in July 1533, Fryth was burned as a heretic at Smithfield for holding opinions which he had never even publicly taught.

[1] Burnet, vol. i, p. 213.
[2] Fryth's *Works*, pp. 151 and 170 (1573).

Persecution

The majority of these early Reformers, it must be confessed, did not remain thus firm in the face of persecution. Foxe relates as many as sixty abjurations between 1528 and 1532 in the diocese of London alone. Several however, even though the prospect of a horrible death temporarily shook their resolution, remained in the end staunch to their convictions. One of the most noteworthy of these early martyrs, Thomas Hitton, a secret disseminator of Tyndale's New Testament, whom Sir Thomas More describes as "the devil's stinking martyr," was burned as a heretic at Maidstone in 1530. Another, Richard Bayfield, a monk of Bury St. Edmunds, who had been instructed by Barnes, was burnt at Smithfield in November 1531. James Bainham, a gentleman of the Temple, who had been accused of heresy for declaring that "Christ's body was not chewed with the teeth, but received by faith," was personally examined by More, and induced, apparently owing to the cruel treatment he received,[1] to abjure and do penance. He soon, however, repented, and made a public confession of his unfaithfulness, which caused him to be again apprehended and burnt at Smithfield in April 1532.

In 1535, Tyndale, who had long succeeded in eluding the vigilance of his persecutors, was at length betrayed by a secret agent of Henry's and thrown into prison. A year later he was condemned as a heretic and burned at Vilvorden. It was in vain, however, to burn the "heretics," when the most fruitful source of "heresy" had already been publicly sanctioned, for it has been well observed that the "Reformation in England,

[1] Cf. Foxe, vol. iv, p. 698.

was, perhaps, to a greater extent than that on the Continent, effected by the Word of God."[1] The great aim of the English Reformers was to disseminate the Scriptures amongst the people, in order that they might there discover for themselves the true teachings of Christ and His Apostles. Tyndale's dying prayer had been that "God would open the King of England's eyes," and in regard to the free circulation of the Scriptures, it was soon to be answered. For although Henry had severely condemned Tyndale's Testament, he had at the same time ordered the bishops to prepare a true translation.[2] They showed, however, no anxiety to carry out this order, and Cranmer, who was most anxious for an English Bible, informed Cromwell that he thought this translation would not be forthcoming "till the day after Doomsday." Accordingly, both Cranmer and Cromwell had been secretly aiding Miles Coverdale to complete a translation he was engaged on in conjunction with Tyndale.

"Matthew's" and Coverdale's Bibles

This appeared in 1535, and soon after received a royal license, but being derived mainly from the Vulgate and Luther's German translation, was in point of scholarship far inferior to Tyndale's. Again, in 1537, "Matthew's" Bible appeared. This was a translation made by John Rogers, the proto-martyr of Queen Mary's reign, and was practically Tyndale's work, with the exception of the latter part of the Old Testament, which was borrowed from Coverdale. It was dedicated to the King, and Cranmer wrote to Cromwell, urging him to obtain the Royal license,

[1] D'Aubigné, *ut supra*, vol. v, p. 149.
[2] Stubbs, *Historical Appendix*, iv, pp. 78-9.

that " it might be sold and read of every person without danger," saying that " he liked it better than any other translation heretofore made."[1] To Cranmer's great delight, Henry's sanction was obtained, and a royal injunction was issued, ordering " every parson or proprietary of any parish church . . . to provide a book of the whole Bible, both in Latin and English, and lay the same in the quire for every man that will, to look and read therein."[2] Thus the translation of Tyndale, the persecuted " heretic," was now authorised to be read publicly throughout the realm. " It was wonderful," says Strype, " to see with what joy this book of God was received, not only among the learneder sort, and those that were noted for lovers of the Reformation, but generally all England over, and with what greediness God's Word was read and what resort to places where the reading of it was."[3]

We must carefully bear in mind that the cause of the Reformers had been materially aided by Henry's divorce from Catharine, for Anne Boleyn openly encouraged and protected those who favoured the " new opinions," and it was through her influence that Latimer and Shaxton were appointed to the Sees of Worcester and Salisbury. Cromwell, also, zealously furthered their interests, while the Primate himself was rapidly becoming more sympathetic with those who were advocating a thorough doctrinal reformation.

[1] Cranmer's Works, ii, p. 344.
[2] Burnet, vol. ii, p. 206, *Records*, No. 7.
[3] *Life of Cranmer*, vol. i, p. 92.

CHAPTER VII

DESPOTISM

Both those who favoured the "old Learning" and those who were embracing the "new opinions" soon discovered that Henry's bold ecclesiastical policy was no mere temporary expedient adopted to enable him to overcome his matrimonial difficulties, but one which he intended to maintain and enforce at all costs.

It was but natural that Henry's new title of "Supreme Head of the Church" should meet with serious opposition from all those who conscientiously believed it to conflict with the spiritual claims and authority of the Pope, which up till this time had been almost universally recognised in the West. But fortified by the recent stringent and tyrannical acts passed by Parliament, he determined to crush all opposition by creating a virtual reign of terror for all those who dared to oppose his will.

The 'Maid of Kent'

Among the first of these victims was the unfortunate nun Elizabeth Barton, who acquired great fame as the "Holy Maid of Kent." She was subject to hysterical fits, during which she was supposed to have visions and revelations. Possessing also a reputation for great sanctity, she was patronised and consulted as a prophetess by many, even of the learned and influential, to whom she declared the will of God,

"chiefly concerning the King's marriage, the great heresies and schisms within the realm, and the taking away the liberties of the Church."[1] Thus, under the influence of these trances, she declared that Henry would die a villain's death within a month, if he divorced Catharine, and that she had seen the very place in hell which was prepared for him.[2] These alarming predictions were even supposed to have materially influenced Archbishop Warham, and were certainly credited by Bishop Fisher, who had several interviews with her.[3] Consequently she was examined by Cranmer and Cromwell, and it was soon discovered that she was merely an impostor who had been made the dupe and victim of a political plot, for which she and her accomplices were attainted of treason and hanged at Tyburn. Fisher was fined £300, and Sir T. More, who had also been in communication with the nun, barely escaped punishment. Both these distinguished men were known to be strongly opposed to the divorce of Catharine, and Henry soon discovered means for making them feel the weight of his displeasure.

Execution of Fisher and More

The Act of Succession had required all persons to swear to uphold the King's marriage with Anne Boleyn, and a form of oath to this effect was now offered to both More and Fisher. They were both willing to swear to the succession which had been determined by Parliament, but refused to take this particular oath, which required them to defend the Act of Succession, the preamble of which distinctly declared Henry's

[1] Cranmer's Works, vol. ii, p. 273.
[2] Cf. Burnet, vol. i, pp. 199-202, and Gairdner, *ut supra*, p. 144.
[3] Burnet, vol. ii, p. 157, *Records*, No. 49.

marriage with Catharine unlawful. Not even the arguments and entreaties of Cranmer and Cromwell could induce them to yield this tacit acknowledgment of the Royal Supremacy. Cranmer earnestly petitioned that they might be allowed simply to swear to the succession,[1] but Henry was obdurate, and they were both sent to the Tower, where Fisher, who was an old man, was treated with much severity. They were then indicted under an infamous "Treasons Act" just passed, (p. 60), by which even "malicious silence" was regarded as a capital crime. Fisher had during his imprisonment further irritated Henry by accepting a cardinal's hat from the Pope, and as he had spoken on several occasions against the Supremacy he was condemned and beheaded on June 22, 1535. "This is life eternal," exclaimed the pious old prelate, who was justly reputed one of the most learned men of the age, "to know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent."[2]

On July 6, More followed him to the scaffold, his very refusal to express his opinion on the Supremacy being made the ground of his condemnation. His wit remained with him to the last, for, requesting the assistance of the lieutenant to ascend the scaffold, he said, "I pray thee see me safely up, and for my coming down let me shift for myself."[3]

The execution of two such prominent men was undoubtedly designed to terrorise others into accepting the Royal Supremacy; but the "Treasons Act" had

[1] Cf. Strype, *Cranmer*, vol. ii, p. 261; Appendix, No. xi.

[2] Fuller, *Church Hist.*, vol. ii, p. 62 (1837).

[3] *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, vol. xxxviii, p. 439. Erasmus bitterly lamented More's execution. "In the death of More I feel as if I had died myself. . . . We had but one soul between us." Froude. *Life and Letters of Erasmus*, p. 430.

already reaped a harvest of victims from the monks of Charterhouse, who resolutely refused to acknowledge Henry's new title. As many as ten suffered the extreme penalty of the law, while nine others died in prison. Even the Princess Mary was not exempt from persecution, and Henry, besides forcing her to acknowledge his supremacy over the Church, deprived her of the title of Princess, and was unnatural enough to compel her to declare that "the marriage between his majesty and my mother, the late princess dowager, was by God's law and man's law incestuous and unlawful."[1]

The execution of a cardinal and a distinguished layman merely for their conscientious and courageous defence of Papal authority naturally created a strong feeling of resentment throughout Europe. The new Pope, Paul III., rashly passed a sentence of excommunication against Henry, absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and called on all Christian kings to depose him. The actual publication of this edict was however postponed until after the suppression of the monasteries.

Pole's Book

Meanwhile an opponent, whose opinions carried great weight, appeared in Reginald Pole, a man of royal blood, a relative and favourite of Henry, who had been a wealthy pluralist before he was nineteen. Intellectually one of the ablest men of the day, he now published a book in *Defence of the Unity of the Church*, calling on the Emperor to make war on Henry as the enemy of Christendom. He boldly denounced the execution of More and Fisher as an atrocious crime,

[1] Burnet, vol. i, p. 271.

and the whole treatise was so cleverly and powerfully written that it is not surprising that Henry endeavoured to persuade his formidable antagonist to return to England to his neglected deanery, when he would no doubt have soon found effective means of silencing him. Pole, however, preferred to remain in Italy, and the Pope soon rewarded him with a cardinal's hat. Bishop Tunstall, replying to Pole, indignantly denied that Henry by adopting the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England had swerved from the unity of Christ's Church, "for his purpose and intent is to see Christ's Faith without blot kept and observed in his realm, and not to separate himself or his realm in any wise from the unity of Christ's Catholic Church, but to reduce his Church of England out of all captivity of foreign powers, and to abolish such usurpations as heretofore the Bishops of Rome have, by many undue means, increased to their great advantage."[1]

Gardiner, now Bishop of Winchester, in his book *On True Obedience*, also vigorously defended the justice of Henry's new title, and claimed for him almost unlimited powers over the Church. The King is, he says, "a prince of his whole people, not of part of it, and he governs them in all things, not in some only; and as the people constitute the Church in England, so he must needs be the supreme head of the Church as he is the supreme head of the people."[2] It was no new thing, "but a power which of divine right belonged to the Prince."[3] These Erastian views

[1] *Ibid*, vol. vi, p. 140, *Records*, No. 52.

[2] Brown, *Appen. ad Fasciculum*, pp. 808-811 (1690).

[3] Gardiner's zeal even led him to protest against Cranmer styling himself "Primate of all England," because it was a high reflection upon the King and detracted much from his supremacy.—Strype's

were also strenuously advocated by such prominent Churchmen as Dean Sampson and Archdeacon Bonner.

Cromwell, Vicar-General

It was at this time (1535) that Henry gave a practical illustration of his interpretation of the powers inherent in his new title by appointing Cromwell his Vicar-General in ecclesiastical matters. By virtue of this Office, Cromwell, or those appointed by him, were given full power "to treat and examine all causes ecclesiastical," even to the punishment or removal of culpable archbishops or bishops, who, during this thorough visitation of all churches, were suspended from exercising their lawful jurisdiction.[1] But revolutionary as these claims appear in theory, it would be a mistake to suppose that in practice Henry ever seriously invaded the distinctively spiritual powers of the clergy. He certainly desired to exercise to the full those rights of jurisdiction over the English Church which had hitherto been enjoyed by the Pope, and he was determined that all estates, whether ecclesiastical or civil, should recognise him as the "fountain and source" of all authority within his realm. Thus Cranmer was described as "under us by God's calling and ours the principal minister of our spiritual jurisdiction,"[2] but, although "he claimed to control the machine, he did not pretend to supply the motive power."[3] This subordination of the Church to the

Cranmer, vol. i, p. 47. Gardiner also declared that "the king's majesty hath by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost composed all matters of religion." *Lamb's Letters*, p. 45 (C.C.C. Library).

[1] Collier, *ut supra*, vol. ix, *Records*, Nos. xxx and xxxi.

[2] Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii, p. 704.

[3] Pollard, *Cranmer*, p. 84. Thus in writing to the clergy of the Convocation of York, Henry clearly stated, "Christ is indeed *unicus dominus et supremus* as we confess Him in church daily: it were

State was, however, in reality but the culmination and natural outcome of the struggle for supremacy between the civil and ecclesiastical powers *which had been going on for centuries*, and of which the quarrels between Henry II and Becket, and Edward I and Archbishop Winchilsea, serve as notable illustrations.

It is at least certain that the clergy, by acknowledging Henry's supremacy, had no intention of ascribing to him any real *spiritual* prerogatives. Cranmer, who was most subservient to royal authority, carefully explained his interpretation of Henry's claims. "Christ," he declared at his trial, "is the only Head of His Church and of the faith and religion of the same. The King is head and governor of his people, which are the visible Church," "and in the publication of Henry's style, wherein he was named Supreme Head of the Church, there was never other thing meant."[1]

Suppression of Monasteries

The supreme powers with which Cromwell had been invested were soon put into execution, and in the autumn of 1535 the first visitation of the monasteries took place. Wolsey had previously employed Cromwell in the dissolution of some smaller monasteries and it has been conjectured that this task "may very possibly have suggested to his mind the subsequent wholesale confiscations."[2] Henry was in great need of money, and there was a real danger lest the Emperor should attempt to enforce against him the censures of the Apostolic See, in which case the rich

nimis absurdam for us to be called *caput ecclesiae representans Corpus Christi mysticum.*" Quoted in Stoughton, *Church of the Revolution*, p. 204, *n.* 5.

[1] Cranmer's Works, vol. ii, p. 224.

[2] Gasquet, *Henry VIII and the Eng. Monasteries*, vol. i, p. 383.

revenues of the monasteries would furnish a welcome source for the provision of an adequate defence against invasion. It would, therefore, be idle to deny that the visitation was conducted mainly with the view of establishing a case against the monasteries which would warrant Parliament in suppressing them. The visitors, like the disreputable Legh and Layton, were carefully chosen for their task and were most of them men whose characters were not above the suspicion of venality, or even crime. They all freely received bribes, and the most disgraceful methods were sometimes employed to obtain satisfactory accusations against many of the houses.[1] The few months which sufficed to accomplish this first visitation furnishes sufficient evidence that the powerful indictment which the report of the visitors contained could not have been the result of a very thorough or searching investigation. But, in spite of the partiality of the report, there is little doubt that very numerous cases of serious corruption and immorality existed, and that a strict observance of the rules of the religious houses was the exception rather than the rule. For in addition to the complaints of secular authorities, we must remember that *before this time monasteries had often been suppressed and condemned by both Popes and prelates.* Thus the University of Oxford had complained of monastic immorality to Henry V in 1414, while in 1410, the Commons had actually proposed that Henry IV should disendow the bishoprics and greater monasteries because the life and evil example of them hath been so long vicious, that all the common people, both lords and simple commons,

[1] See J. S. Fletcher, "*The Reformation in Northern England*," ch. ii.

be now so vicious and infected through boldship of their sin, that scarce any man dreadeth God, nor the Devil."[1] Bishop Fisher had actively promoted the suppression of several monasteries because of the dissolute lives of the monks, and in 1521, Bishop Fox, of Winchester, told Wolsey that he found "the clergy and particularly (what he did not at first suspect) the monks so depraved, so licentious, and so corrupt that he despaired of any reformation even in his own diocese."[2] In 1489, on account of their degenerate state, Innocent VIII had specially empowered Cardinal Morton to visit all the English monasteries. At St. Albans, one of the richest and most powerful abbeys in the kingdom, not only were the religious services neglected and the monks guilty of all kinds of vice and sin, but the Abbot himself was charged with encouraging this licentiousness and persecuting all those disposed to live piously.[3] If such was the state of one of the most ancient and reputable of the monasteries on the testimony of the Primate, it is not surprising if Henry's visitors should have found many of the smaller institutions in little better condition. In many houses where the discipline was lax, the inmates preferred suppression to submission to the severe and searching instructions or injunctions of the visitors. Many also who had taken their vows under compulsion, or at a very early age, earnestly pleaded to be set at liberty.[4] In spite of Cardinal Gasquet's attempt,[5] based mainly on incomplete and unsupported evidence,

[1] Kingsford's *Chronicle of London*, p. 64.

[2] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of Henry VIII*, ed. Brewer, Rolls series, III, 1122.

[3] Cf. Wilkin's *Concilia*, vol. iii, pp. 630, 632.

[4] Burnet, vol. i, p. 249.

[5] In *Henry VIII and the Eng. Monasteries.*

to whitewash the English monasteries, actual visitations for at least three centuries before the Reformation had recorded numerous flagrant cases not only of immorality, drunkenness, murder and lesser crimes, but of constant waste, extravagance and embezzlement of monastic property. It is generally admitted that monastic life steadily degenerated, especially after the Black Death, up to the time of the Dissolution.

Bishop Nicke's visitation of the diocese of Norwich in 1514 reveals the fact that six per cent. of the inmates were convicted of unchastity.[1]

It is necessary, however, to bear in mind that the records of episcopal visitations which we possess are not numerous or complete and also that they are naturally liable to furnish more evidence of scandals and abuses than of model and virtuous conduct. It would be unsafe therefore to generalise from these insufficient data as to the condition of *all* the English monasteries, although it would be equally rash to assume that want of evidence is an indication of exemplary management and of strict morality.[2] Moreover as a modern writer well reminds us " It is a great mistake to apply the moral and social standards of our own days to the religious life of that bygone age."[3]

As a result of the visitation, an Act was passed in February 1536, for the suppression of all the smaller houses of a yearly income of £200 and under. The Act while declaring the abuses, " the unthrifty, carnal and abominable living," of which these smaller institutions had been guilty, also expressly stated that

[1] See Coulton, *Medieval Studies*, 1st series, chs. i and vi.

[2] For an impartial and discerning account of this question, see R. S. Arrowsmith, *The Prelude to the Reform'n*, ch. vii (1922).

[3] Hamilton Thompson, *Lincoln Visitations*, vol. i, p. xiii.

" there were divers great solemn monasteries in which religion was well kept and observed."[1] By another Act a special " Court of Augmentation " was appointed to collect and administer the revenues of these 376 suppressed houses, and also to determine the pensions for those who were dispossessed.

It is impossible to suppose that Parliament would have sanctioned such drastic action, if there had not been a large foundation of fact in the report of the visitors.

With this summary destruction of the smaller monasteries, it was most unlikely that the more wealthy and important ones would long remain inviolable. For not only did their spoil furnish a ready and tempting means of further replenishing an exhausted exchequer, but Bishop Stokesley probably expressed the prevalent sentiment when he declared that " these lesser houses were as thorns, soon plucked up, but the great abbots were like putrefied old oaks ; yet they must needs follow, and so would others do in Christendom before many years were passed."[2] The monasteries had, in fact, outlived their day. The ideal of life which they set was too high and quite out of harmony with the licentious and lawless spirit of the age. Thus Wolsey, when trying to enforce monastic discipline, was bluntly told that " the rule of St. Benedict is too severe and cannot be enforced without rebellion. In the present times, now the world is drawing to its end, very few desire to lead an austere life."[3] The monasteries were no longer, as formerly, havens of refuge for those desiring to lead holy lives in a semi-

[1] Gee and Hardy, *ut supra*, p. 258.
[2] Burnet, vol. i, p. 253.
[3] *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, *ut supra*, IV, p. 953.

barbarous age, nor were the monks still the leaders of learning or even of scientific agriculture. Again, the masses for souls in purgatory, which had been the main object of the foundation of many houses, fostered a doctrine which, with the rise of the Reformers, was being seriously questioned and largely discredited. Monasteries were also usually the nurseries of superstition, as the feigned miracles which had excited the sarcasm and contempt of Erasmus were nearly always encouraged by the monks. Their abuse of the rights of sanctuary was justly complained of as affording protection for criminals of the worst kind, while even their fame for hospitality and almsgiving[1] often tended by its indiscriminate method to create a wandering pauper class.

But however unnecessary or harmful their continued existence may have been, it is little wonder that the unjustifiable methods employed in their rapid dissolution should have occasioned great discontent, which would naturally be fanned into a flame by the army of monks, nuns, and friars, who, even though they received small pensions, were thus suddenly forced to face an entirely new and probably unwelcome life, for which their previous training had utterly unfitted them. Not only were the revenues of the monasteries confiscated by the King, but priceless manuscripts were destroyed, and the churches and cloisters ruthlessly demolished. Even the bells and lead from the roofs were melted down and sold to satisfy the royal greed. Although we must bear in mind that for the maintenance of Henry's ecclesiastical

[1] Much of the almsgiving was compulsory in fulfilment of the conditions of their endowments.

position the dissolution of the monasteries was practically essential, as the existence of some six hundred virtually independent corporate societies,[1] scattered throughout the land, secretly working for the restoration of Papal authority, would not only have seriously endangered his ecclesiastical settlement, but would also have rendered any further attempt at reformation futile ; yet, as Hallam justly remarks, " it is impossible to feel too much indignation at the spirit in which Henry conducted these proceedings."[2]

Pilgrimage of Grace

The discontent occasioned by the suppression of these lesser monasteries was further aggravated by the issue, in 1536, of certain Injunctions condemning pilgrimages and the extolling of images and relics, and laying fresh financial burdens on the parish priests.[3] The first sign of actual rebellion occurred in October 1536, in Lincolnshire. The rebels complained of the suppression of the religious houses, and of " certain bishops who were subverting the faith, and of the counsellors of mean birth who advised the King." This rising was soon subdued, but a far more serious outbreak, styled the " Pilgrimage of Grace,"[4] occurred in the North, under the leadership of a gentleman

[1] It should not be forgotten that a large number of the religious houses, including the Cluniac, Carthusian, Gilbertine and some of the Benedictine, were exempt from episcopal control. Cardinal Gasquet admits that by dissolving the monasteries Henry " could strike at the very heart of the Pope's power in England and most effectually dash the hopes of its renewal." *Henry VIII and the Eng. Monasteries*, vol. i, p. 251.

[2] Hallam, *Constitutional History*, p. 67 (World's Library).

[3] Cf. Burnet, vol. ii, p. 203, *Records*, No. 7.

[4] It was headed by priests with crosses and banners on which were depicted the five wounds of Christ.

named Robert Aske. The rebels succeeded in capturing York and Hull, and became so formidable that Henry was forced to offer a general pardon, and promise to call a Parliament to consider their grievances. A second rebellion, which broke out shortly after, was, however, easily quelled, and led to the execution of several of the insurgent leaders and followers, amongst whom were twelve abbots and a number of monks.

As several of the greater abbeys had been guilty of assisting the rebels, an excellent pretext was obtained for a thorough visitation of all the remaining religious houses, which took place in 1537. Several were convicted of grave irregularities, and were glad to surrender their houses and obtain a life pension ; others had been implicated in the rebellion, and so found it safer to make a voluntary surrender to avoid punishment. Thus, by 1540, either through fear or force, practically all the monasteries had "surrendered," or been dissolved, and in the case of some of the richest houses, where no disorders could be discovered, the abbots were attainted of treason and executed, and their houses arbitrarily regarded as forfeit to the Crown.

Altogether just over six hundred monasteries, besides "hospitals" and "colleges," were despoiled, pouring "in an instant such a torrent of wealth upon the Crown as has seldom been equalled in any country by the confiscations following a subdued rebellion."[1] On the lowest estimate the yearly value alone, apart from the value of movable property, amounted to £131,607 (probably equivalent to quite twenty times this sum to-day).

[1] Hallam, *ut supra*, p. 67.

It appears[1] that Henry had designed to establish eighteen bishoprics and cathedrals out of the proceeds of the spoil, but in the end only six fresh sees were founded,[2] one of which (Westminster) only lasted for ten years. A few old monasteries were converted into collegiate churches, some grammar schools were founded, and St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas's Hospitals were maintained for the benefit of the poor.[3] The rest of this enormous revenue was either squandered by Henry or found its way into the pockets of greedy courtiers, serving as an effective means of procuring their acquiescence in Henry's despotic proceedings. For it must not be forgotten that the grant of a large part of this monastic property to the rising families of the nobility and gentry created a new and powerful class materially interested to maintain the separation of the Church from Rome.

Fall of Cromwell

In 1536 Henry was again in matrimonial difficulties, as the charms of Jane Seymour, another youthful beauty, led to the divorce of Anne Boleyn on the charge of unfaithfulness. The reasons which led Cranmer to pronounce and Convocation to ratify the divorce are not known, but it has been conjectured that Henry's previous illicit relations with her sister, Mary Boleyn,

[1] Cf. Burnet, vol. i, pp. 339 and 347.

[2] The new sees were Westminster, Oxford, Chester, Gloucester, Bristol, and Peterborough.

[3] In 1540 several Regius Professorships were also founded at both Universities. One of these was Civil Law. Henry had prohibited the academic study of the medieval Canon Law because he wished to emphasise, from a study of Justinian's Code, the supremacy of the *Imperial* power to legislate concerning the Faith and to fix the standard of orthodoxy for his subjects. Justinian had done this by a reference to the standard of orthodoxy of the Churches of Rome and Alexandria. Cf. Maitland, *ut supra*, pp. 92-3.

were regarded as creating a canonical bar to the union.[1] The unfortunate Queen was condemned to death for adultery, and beheaded on May 19th, 1536, and only eleven days later Henry married Jane Seymour. Within sixteen months, however, he was again in trouble, as she died nine days after the birth of the future King Edward VI. Henry managed to remain a widower for three years, but in 1540 Cromwell persuaded him to take a Lutheran princess, Anne of Cleves, as his fourth wife. Cromwell undoubtedly desired by this alliance to advance the cause of the Reformation, as well as to enhance his own credit and influence, but the experiment proved a dismal failure, and was the immediate cause of his downfall. For Henry conceived a violent dislike to his new bride, declaring that she was a "Flanders mare," and also he had already fallen a victim to the charms of Katharine Howard, niece of the Duke of Norfolk. Accordingly, Bishop Gardiner proposed to Convocation that the marriage was null and void; and on the grounds of a supposed pre-contract and a want of inward consent on Henry's part, this disgraceful proposition was agreed to by both Houses of Convocation, the fear of the King's displeasure sealing even Cranmer's lips against such flagrant injustice, which was, as Burnet remarks, "the greatest piece of compliance that ever the King had from the clergy."[2]

This decision was, however, soon ratified by Parliament, and Anne of Cleves was easily persuaded to surrender her exalted but dangerous position for a pension of £3,000 a year.

[1] Cf. Pollard, *Cranmer*, p. 100, *n.* 1.
[2] Burnet, vol. i, p. 363.

The old nobility, who hated Cromwell as an upstart, seized this opportunity, and, drawing up a long list of his crimes, accused him of treason. No one except Cranmer ventured to plead for the fallen minister, and he was condemned by an Act of Attainder, and executed on July 28th, 1540.

CHAPTER VIII

PROGRESS AND REACTION

It is time now to consider the fortunes of the Reformers under this tyrannical régime. The breach with Rome, the marriage with Anne Boleyn, the promotion of Cranmer and Cromwell, and the dissolution of the monasteries, all tended to advance the cause of doctrinal reform.

Latimer's Sermons

On June 9th, 1536, Bishop Latimer delivered the opening sermon before the first Convocation which had met since the overthrow of the Papal power. Preaching from the text, " For the children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light " (Luke xvi, 8), Latimer, in graphic and forcible language, drew a picture of the corrupt condition of the Church, even darker than that depicted by Colet in 1512. He denounced the abuses of the Church courts, the profanation of holy days, the superstitious veneration of images and relics, the sale of masses, and the doctrine of purgatory. Many of the clergy preached, he said, " that dead images not only ought to be covered with gold, but clad with silk garments laden with precious gems and jewels . . . whereas we see Christ's faithful and lively images, bought with no less price than with His most precious blood, to be an hungered, a-thirst, a-cold, and to lie in darkness." " Purgatory

pick-purse," he also declared, "was a pleasant fiction, and from the beginning so profitable to the feigners of it, that almost, I dare boldly say, there hath been no emperor that hath gotten more by taxes and tallages of them that were alive, than these got by dead men's tributes and gifts." He boldly asserted that this deplorable condition of religion was due to the unfaithfulness of the bishops and clergy. All good men complained of their avarice, exactions, and tyranny. "What have you done," he pertinently asks, "these seven years and more?" "Come, go to," he concludes, "leave the love of your profit . . . and bring forth at the last somewhat that may please Christ. Feed ye tenderly with all diligence the flock of Christ. Preach truly the Word of God. Love the light, walk in the light, and so be ye the children of light while you are in this world."[1]

The Ten Articles

By way of reply the Lower House drew up a long list of Articles, complaining of the intemperate and profane language and teaching of many of those who advocated the "new opinions," and the slackness of some of the bishops in suppressing them."[2] Cromwell, as "Vicar-General," informed them that Henry desired them "friendly and lovingly" to dispute among themselves "and conclude all things by the Word of God, without all brawling or scolding."[3] The two parties, however, seemed little likely to come to an amicable agreement, and thus, on July 11th, Bishop Foxe of Hereford brought forward a list of Articles, professedly

[1] Latimer's *Sermons*, pp. 33-54.
[2] Fuller, *Church History*, vol. ii, pp. 69-74.
[3] Cf. Foxe, vol. v, p. 379.

compiled by Henry himself,[1] which, after a prolonged debate, were accepted by both Houses of Convocation. These "Ten Articles" were distinctly of the nature of a compromise between the teaching of the Reformers and those who advocated the "old learning,"[2] although their approval by Cardinal Pole[3] proved that they attempted no serious departure from the standard of current orthodoxy.

The first five dealt with fundamental matters of faith, while the last five laid down rules concerning rites and ceremonies. The rule of faith is to be determined by the Bible and the three Creeds, interpreted according to the opinions of the "holy approved doctors of the Church." Baptism is declared to be necessary to salvation and also for infants "because they be born in original sin." Penance is a sacrament instituted by Christ, necessary to salvation for those who fall into sin after baptism, and consists of contrition, confession, and amendment of life displayed in prayer, fasting, and alms-deeds. Confession to a priest is declared to be "a very expedient and necessary mean" for obtaining absolution. In the Sacrament of the Altar, "under the form and figure of bread and wine, is the very self-same body and blood of Christ corporally, really, and in the very substance exhibited,

[1] The authorship of these Articles is well discussed in Hardwick's *History of the Articles*, pp. 40-1 (1904).

[2] The disciples of the Renaissance were the first to be styled advocates of the "New Learning," but this term of reproach was afterwards transferred to those who embraced the Reformed opinions, who, however, vigorously repudiated it. "Ye call your learning old," said Latimer, in 1535, "it may indeed be called old, for it cometh of that serpent which did pervert God's commandment and beguiled Eve, so it is an old custom to pervert God's Word and to rust and corrupt it." *Sermons*, p. 31.

[3] Cf. Fisher, *History of England*, (1485-1547), p. 392.

distributed and received unto and of all them which receive the said Sacrament." Justification "signifies remission of sins and our acceptation and reconciliation into the grace and favour of God," and is attained by contrition and faith joined with charity.

The Articles dealing with "laudable ceremonies" declare that images are "representers of virtue and good example." Saints are to be honoured with a modified reverence, and invoked as intercessors "praying with us and for us" unto God, although "grace, remission of sin, and salvation" can only be obtained through the mediation of our Saviour Christ. Praying for departed souls is defended as a "charitable deed," but "masses and the Pope's pardon to deliver souls from Purgatory" are "abuses which should be clearly put away."[1]

The issue of these Articles was regarded by the Reformers as a great step towards the purification of the Church, as not only were the four medieval Sacraments of Orders, Confirmation, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction ignored, but the gross abuses connected with the worship of saints and images were discouraged, and the demoralising system of Indulgences tacitly condemned. Moreover, the Scriptures and Creeds, apart from tradition, were exalted as the standard of faith, and "the lay people," as Bishop Foxe informed Convocation, "do now know the holy Scripture better than many of us . . . that now many things may be better understood without any glosses at all than by the commentaries of the doctors."[2]

[1] *Formularies of Faith*, xviii-xxxii (1827).
[2] Foxe, vol. v, p. 382.

The "Bishops' Book"

In 1537 a committee of bishops and divines published, with Henry's consent, a valuable theological treatise entitled the *Institution of a Christian Man*, and generally known as the "Bishops' Book." It contained a full exposition of the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Sacraments, and the doctrines of Justification and Purgatory. The teaching expounded was substantially the same as that contained in the "Ten Articles." The Seven Sacraments were, indeed, reaffirmed, but all "bishops and preachers" were instructed to teach the people the difference, "in dignity and necessity," between the Three Sacraments of Baptism, the Eucharist, and Penance, "instituted of Christ, as certain instruments necessary for our salvation," and the other four.[1]

The English Reformers were at this time further encouraged by the negotiations which Henry, actuated mainly by political motives, was conducting with the German Lutherans. Henry was anxious to obtain the assistance of the German Protestant Princes in the event of a war with the Emperor, and thus in 1535 Friar Barnes, Bishop Foxe, and Dr. Heath held protracted conferences with Melancthon, Luther, and the Wittenberg divines, with a view to forming a religious

[1] Cf. Cranmer's Works, vol. ii, p. 99. The theory of a mystical or Invisible Church is clearly expounded in it. "That there is and hath been from the beginning of the world, and so shall be for ever a Society or Company of the elect and faithful people of God, of which number our Saviour Jesus Christ is the only Head and Governor" "and the members whereof be all the faithful people who have lived and now are in heaven, and all who be or ever shall be in life, from the beginning unto the end of the world. This congregation being the 'Holy Catholic Church,' the very mystical Body of Christ." *Formularies of Faith*, p. 52.

union. The German Princes even invited Henry to become the " Defender or Protector " of their " League of Smalkald " on the condition of his conforming to the " Confession of Augsburg " (drawn up in 1530), a moderate doctrinal formulary, aiming at a return to the faith of the early Fathers and protesting against medieval innovations.

Negotiations with Lutherans

Bishop Gardiner, however, who was ambassador at Paris, succeeded in dissuading Henry from taking such a definite step, and the death of Queen Catherine and the fall of Anne Boleyn led to a temporary suspension of the negotiations. They were, however, resumed in 1538, when Henry invited an embassy, consisting of three prominent Lutheran divines, to England, to attempt a " concord of doctrine " which might enable him to make common cause with the German Princes. A committee, consisting of three bishops, including Cranmer, and four doctors, was appointed to confer with these German " orators " on behalf of the English Church. The conference apparently arrived at an amicable agreement on the fundamental articles of the Christian faith, which they set down in writing,[1] but Henry and the party of the " old learning," led by Gardiner and Tunstall, refused to make any concessions in regard to the " abuses " of communion in one kind, clerical celibacy, and private propitiatory masses, which were specially obnoxious to the Lutherans, and

[1] These are supposed to be identical with the " Thirteen Articles " of 1538, which mainly follow the Augsburg Confession, and formed the basis of the Forty-two Articles of 1553. Cf. Hardwick, *Articles*, pp. 59-61.

thus the embassy returned home in 1539, having accomplished nothing.[1]

Cromwell's Injunctions

Probably the high-water mark of the attempted doctrinal Reformation under Henry was reached in 1538, by the issue of Cromwell's[2] Injunctions, ordering the whole Bible in English to be provided for every church. Every person was to be exhorted to read it, "as the very lively word of God that every Christian man is bound to embrace, believe and follow, if he look to be saved." The people were to be carefully instructed in the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, in English, and there was to be a sermon at least once a quarter, to declare the true Gospel of Christ, to encourage works of faith, mercy, and charity, and to warn against trusting in pilgrimages to images or relics, "or kissing or licking the same over, saying over a number of beads not understanded, or in such-like superstition." Images which had been abused with pilgrimages or offerings were to be taken down, and no candles were to be set before any image or picture.[3]

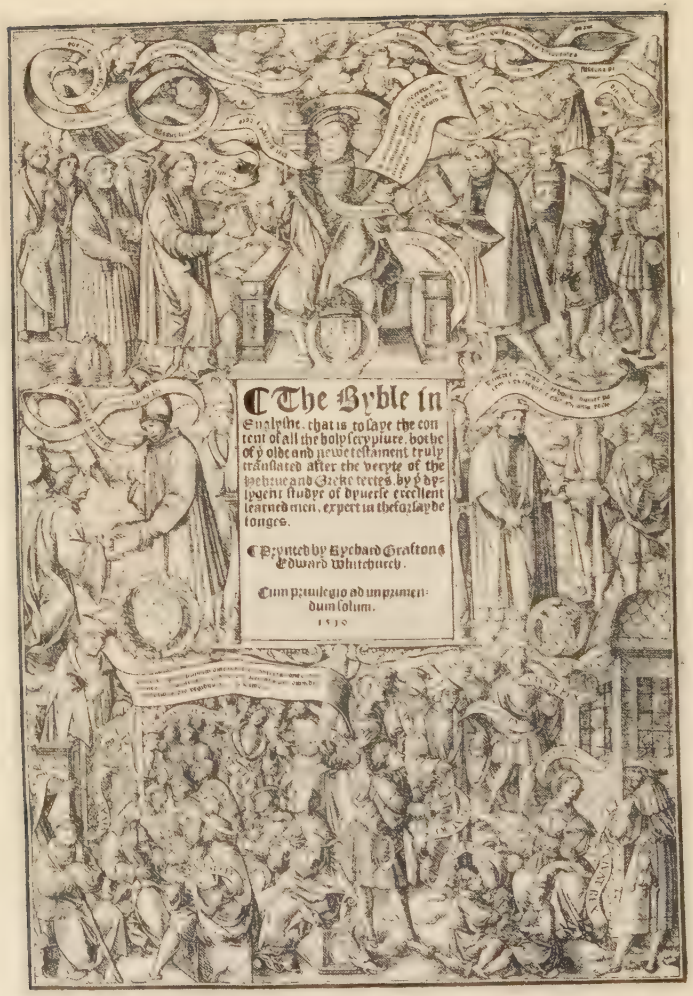
Already the impostures of many of the famous shrines had been exposed and the images publicly burned, such as the "Rood of Grace" at Boxley, and the blood of Hailes,[4] and the image of David Gatheren in Wales, which was believed to have the power of

[1] Cf. Cranmer's Works, vol. ii, p. 379, and Burnet, vol. ii, pp. 402-39, No. vii and viii, Addenda.

[2] Acting as Henry's Vicegerent.

[3] Burnet, vol. ii, p. 227.

[4] At Hailes, in Gloucestershire, the blood of Christ was exhibited to the faithful who were "not in mortal sin," the evidence of which was decided by the extent of their gifts to the supposed relic!


The Byble in
Englyshe, that is to saye the con
tent of all the holy scripture, bothe
of ye olde and newe testament truly
translated after the verye of the
hebrue and Greke textes, by ye dy-
ligente studye of diuerse excellent
learned men, expert in the forsayde
tongues.
Prynted by Rychard Graftons
Edward Whitchurch.
Cum priuilegio ad imprimen-
dum solum.
1539

TITLE PAGE TO THE GREAT BIBLE, 1539

Engraved upon wood after Holbein.

delivering souls from hell. The wealthy shrine of St. Thomas à Becket at Canterbury had been singled out for special vengeance as perpetuating the memory of a martyr for the Papal claims. The shrine was destroyed, the rich jewels and gold confiscated, the bones burnt, and now by these Injunctions his commemoration as a saint was strictly forbidden.

The Great Bible

The Bible ordered by these Injunctions was not published till April, 1539, and from its size was known as the " Great Bible." It was a revision made by Coverdale of " Matthew's " or Rogers' translation, and had been printed in Paris, although, owing to the persecution of the Inquisition, the translators had to fly with their printing presses to London just before the work was completed. A further revision also appeared in the following year, containing a preface by Cranmer, pointing out the inestimable privileges of those who rightly use the Scriptures, while in May, 1541, the King issued a proclamation again ordering a copy to be supplied for every parish and fixing the price for each volume.

Lambert's Trial

But the progress of the Reformation, as evidenced by these significant changes, was largely due to the influence of Cranmer and Cromwell, and the signs of a reaction were already manifest. In November, 1538, a royal proclamation had strictly forbidden the marriage of priests under pain of imprisonment, while in the same month Henry himself presided at the trial of a " heretic " named Lambert or John Nicholson, who had been a friend of Tyndale and Fryth.

Holding the opinions of the Swiss Reformers on the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, Lambert had controverted the Eucharistic views expressed in a sermon by Dr. Taylor. This led to his examination before Cranmer, who, holding at that time the medieval or, at least, the Lutheran view of the Sacrament,[1] endeavoured in vain to convince Lambert of his errors. The latter then appealed to the King, and accordingly the case was tried by Henry in Westminster Hall. Lambert argued with great ability against the King, Cranmer, and Tunstall for five hours, but in the end he was condemned to be burned, the sentence being carried out with the greatest barbarity at Smithfield.

Act of "Six Articles"

There is little doubt that the profane methods of the more ignorant and fanatical of the Reformers also materially aided the reactionary party led by Gardiner, amongst the clergy, and the Duke of Norfolk amongst the nobility. For not only were the Scriptures, as Henry bitterly complained, "disputed, rhymed, sung, and jangled in every tavern and alehouse," but stage-plays and interludes were frequently acted in the churches, profanely and indecently travestying the current medieval forms of worship or the corruptions or immoralities of the monks and clergy. Even the doctrine of Transubstantiation, still very generally received and revered, was often ridiculed in ribald ballads and scandalous jests, while the wild and erroneous opinions of the new sect of Anabaptists tended to alienate men from all doctrinal changes. The evidence

[1] The question of Cranmer's changes of view on the Eucharist is discussed in Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.*, iii, 227 *n.*

of this resentment was soon manifested in the Parliament of 1539, when Henry strenuously supported the Duke of Norfolk's proposed "Six Articles" of Religion,[1] which, in spite of the earnest opposition of Cranmer, supported by Bishops Goodrich, Latimer, Shaxton, Hilsey, and Barlow, passed both Houses. Under this Act, soon styled the "Bloody Statute," or the "Whip with six strings," *the penalty for denying Transubstantiation was death at the stake,* without even the possibility of abjuration. The five other Articles declared that communion in both kinds was unnecessary, the marriage of priests unlawful, that vows of chastity must be perpetually observed, that private masses ought to be continued, and that auricular confession was expedient and necessary. Those who preached or disputed against any of these articles were to suffer death as felons.

Mercifully, the provisions of this Act, ferocious even for that intolerant age, do not appear to have been very stringently enforced, although it wrought consternation amongst the Reformers, great numbers of them being imprisoned, while several actually suffered death owing to its severe penalties. Its immediate consequence was the resignation, probably under pressure, of Bishops Latimer and Shaxton, both of whom were shortly after imprisoned for speaking against the Act. Cranmer was also obliged to send away his wife to Germany, but still continued to enjoy Henry's favour.

The fall of Cromwell in the following year was another great blow to the hopes of the Reformers. "The progress of the Reformation," says Burnet,

[1] Henry had ordered a committee of bishops to draw up Articles of doctrine to bring all his subjects to be "of one mind in religion," but they could not arrive at any agreement.

" which had been by his endeavours so far advanced, was quite stopped. For all that Cranmer could do after this was to keep the ground they had gained, but he could never advance much further."[1]

Martyrdom of Barnes and others

With the removal of Cromwell's great influence, Henry was able to pursue his arbitrary and tyrannical policy almost unchecked, and a conspicuous example of this soon occurred in his treatment of three Lutheran divines, Barnes, Gerard, and Jerome. They were guilty of no offence against the Six Articles, but simply of replying rather sharply to some reflections made by Gardiner against the Lutheran doctrine of Justification. Henry required them to sign a paper acknowledging their errors, and also to recant them publicly in their sermons. Their recantation being considered somewhat ambiguous, they were all imprisoned, and Parliament was actually persuaded to pass bills of attainder against them for heresy. Thus, without even the semblance of a trial, they were condemned as " incorrigible heretics," the Act stating that the number of their heresies " was too long to be repeated." To create a show of impartiality three unfortunate priests, attainted of treason for denying the King's supremacy, were dragged to the place of execution with the three Lutherans. The sheriff was even unable to inform Barnes of the crimes for which he was condemned, whereupon the martyr exclaimed that " he heard he was condemned to die by an Act of Parliament, and it seemed it was for heresy, since they were to be burnt. He prayed God to forgive those who had been the occasions

[1] Vol. i, p. 368.

of it, and in particular the Bishop of Winchester (Gardiner), if he had sought or procured his death."[1] Shortly afterwards Mekins, an illiterate boy of fifteen, was condemned to death for speaking against the corporal presence of Christ in the Eucharist, Bishop Bonner displaying a most vindictive spirit by furiously intimidating the jury which had declined to convict him.

Anne Askew

Probably the case that excited the greatest pity and indignation was that of Anne Askew, a lady of good family and education. In 1545 she was charged with declaring that whoever received the Sacrament at the hands of a wicked priest received " not God, but the devil." She stoutly denied the accusation, and cleverly parried all the Bishop of London's (Bonner) attempts to obtain her definite opinion of Transubstantiation. " In spirit and faith," she declared, she received " no less than the body and blood of Christ in the Sacrament."

In the following year she was again indicted for heresy, in company with Bishop Shaxton. The bishop recanted and regained his liberty, but no arguments or torture could shake the fearless constancy of Anne. She refused to confess the Sacrament to be " flesh, blood, and bone." With the object of forcing her to implicate some ladies of the Court who were supposed to sympathise with her opinions, she was most cruelly racked while in the Tower, Lord Chancellor Wriothesley himself turning the screw in a vain endeavour to conquer her fortitude. Her sufferings were so great that she was obliged to be carried to the stake in a chair, where, in company with three other " heretics " and in the

[1] Burnet, vol. i, pp. 382-4.

presence of a great concourse of people, she suffered martyrdom on July 16th, 1546. Shaxton, who had been saved from a similar fate by an inglorious recantation, was compelled to preach the sermon condemning her "heresies."[1]

In 1542 an attempt of Convocation to suppress the Scriptures on the pretext of the inaccuracy of the translation was happily frustrated by Cranmer, who obtained Henry's consent to refer a proposed new revision[2] to the Universities, and nothing further was heard of the matter.[3] Next year, however, all translations of Tyndale and Coverdale were condemned, and the humbler classes were entirely prohibited from reading the Bible.[4]

It is not surprising that Cranmer, with his persistent efforts to advance the cause of the Reformation, should have incurred the bitter enmity of the adherents of the "old" faith. Thus several attempts were made to ruin him, but the King's fidelity to him was not to be shaken. "You are," said Cromwell to Cranmer, "most happy of all men; for you may do and speak what you list: and say what all men can against you, the King will never believe one word to your detriment or hindrance."[5] Thus in 1544 the Duke of Norfolk and some members of the Privy Council accused the Archbishop of infecting three-fourths of the land with his abominable heresy, and obtained leave to bring

[1] Cf. Foxe, vol. v, pp. 537-550.

[2] Gardiner proposed that a number of words on account of their sacred ecclesiastical association should remain in Latin.

[3] Fuller, vol. ii, pp. 108-9.

[4] Convocation had this year ordered every curate to read each Sunday or holiday a chapter of the Bible in English without exposition. Stubbs' *Hist.*, Appen. iv, 132.

[5] Cf. Pollard, *ut supra*, p. 157; Foxe, vol. viii, p. 27.

him to trial before the Council. Cranmer was kept waiting amongst the lackeys for nearly an hour, but when ordered to the Tower, he appealed to the King, producing the ring which Henry had privately given him in case he should be hardly dealt with. Henry sharply reproved the Councillors, declaring Cranmer to be "as faithful a man towards me as ever was prelate in this realm."[1]

In 1542 the execution of Queen Katharine Howard for unfaithfulness acted as a check on the reactionary party, especially as Catharine Parr, the widow whom Henry married in the following year, secretly favoured the Reformation.

The "King's Book"

Thus the revision of the "Bishop's Book" which appeared in 1543, under the title of *The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*, and soon known as the "King's Book," was a very questionable victory for the adherents of the "old learning." The Seven Sacraments were again reasserted, and the doctrine of Transubstantiation more explicitly defined than in the "Institution," but the legislative powers and independence of every national Church were fully declared, while the doctrine of Justification by Faith was explained in terms acceptable to the Reformers. The book was carefully revised and approved by Convocation.

A work destined finally to be of a far more permanent character was also commenced at this time at Cranmer's instigation. The original service book, drawn up by Augustine for the use of the English Church, had in the

[1] Strype, *Cranmer*, vol. i, pp. 180-1.

course of time been so altered by the ordinances of the various diocesan bishops, that many different services or "Uses" were employed in different ecclesiastical districts. At least seven are known to have existed, the most popular of which was the Sarum Use, associated with the name of Bishop Osmund of Salisbury in 1085.[1] In 1542 Cranmer proposed to amend these various service books, and the following year the King ordered Convocation to undertake the task, "and put away feigned legends, superstitious oraisons, collects, versicles and responses and the names of all Saints not mentioned in the Scriptures or other authentic doctors." A committee was consequently appointed, but it is uncertain whether the new English liturgy which appeared in the following reign owed anything to their efforts.

The English Litany

Meanwhile Cranmer was engaged on the production of a document which has been well described as "the most exquisite of English compositions,"[2] and has certainly profoundly influenced the religious devotions of succeeding generations of Englishmen. This was the English Litany of 1544, which had been compiled by the Archbishop from the old litanies of the English Church, and probably also from one which had been issued by Archbishop Hermann of Cologne in 1543. Henry ordered its general use in June, 1544, stating that as the people have hitherto "come very slackly to the

[1] The Sarum "Use" was not definitely fixed till the thirteenth century by the liturgical additions made by Bishop Poore. Cf. Procter and Frere, *Hist. of the Prayer Book*, p. 15.

[2] Gairdner, *Eng. Church*, p. 230 *n.*

Procession "[1] because "they understood no part of such prayers and suffrages" as were said and sung, "certain godly prayers and suffrages" are now set forth "in our native English tongue."[2]

In the following year this Litany, substantially the same as the one in present use,[3] was incorporated in a revised book of private devotions, known as the *King's Primer*, which superseded the primers compiled by Marshall and Hilsey earlier in the reign, as "a determinate form of praying in their own mother tongue . . . that such as are ignorant of any strange and foreign speech may have what to pray in their own familiar language with fruit and understanding."[4]

In 1545 an Act was passed abolishing "all chantries, hospitals, and free chapels," and alienating their property to the King's use. Although this was occasioned largely by Henry's need of money for the war with France, yet the virtual condemnation of masses for the dead, which it involved, was another sign that the tide was beginning to turn again in favour of the Reformers.

Henry's Death

The death of the King in January, 1547, however, rendered it impossible to tell how much further he might have been persuaded to advance on the path of reform. On his deathbed he sent for Cranmer, but he was unable to do more than squeeze the Archbishop's hand in answer to his exhortation to trust in the mercy of Christ.[5] Although his capricious ecclesiastical policy,

[1] From being sung in processions, litanies came to be called by that name.

[2] Burnet, vol. ii, p. 328, *Records*, No. 28.

[3] Three invocations—to "saints, angels and patriarchs"—were subsequently removed.

[4] Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iii, p. 874.

[5] Fuller, vol. ii, p. 131.

dictated usually by political necessities, often severely tried the loyalty of his "Catholic" subjects, yet at heart he never wavered in his attachment to the medieval conception of Catholicity. Hooper, writing in 1546, said, "As far as true religion is concerned, idolatry is nowhere in greater vigour. *Our King has destroyed the Pope but not popery.*"[1] Thus, while some of the more glaring ecclesiastical abuses were reformed, there was as yet but little desire for any real doctrinal changes. Cranmer declared of Henry's reign that "the darkness and blindness of errors and ignorance that came from Rome still remained," and that "the Bishop of Rome was not clean gone out of England as soon as the laws were made against his authority, but remained still by his corrupt doctrine."[2]

His Ecclesiastical Policy

The burning of "heretics" had, it is true, rather stimulated than weakened the cause of the Reformers, yet the mass of the people were still either indifferent to religious changes or loyal to the "old" religion. It was not unnatural that men's sympathies and judgment should be somewhat confused when, under the "King's religion," not only the "Protestant" suffered at the stake for contravening recognised orthodoxy, but the "Catholic" endured a traitor's death for denying the Royal Supremacy.

[1] *Original Letters*, vol. i, p. 36.

[2] *Works. Lord's Supper*, p. 240. Archdeacon Manning, in his *Unity of the Church*, p. 361, endorses this statement when he says, "Questions of faith had hardly as yet arisen in the Church of England, when it released its apostolical powers from the oppression of a foreign and uncanonical jurisdiction. The corrections in doctrine and usage, which were afterwards made, were neither the causes of the beginning nor of the continuance of the division."

In spite of Henry's tyrannical and despotic policy, his rule was in the main popular and for the good of the nation. The confidence created by his strong personal rule greatly fostered the development of trade and commerce, and led to the rise of a wealthy and influential merchant class. Even though his Parliaments were judiciously "packed," it is impossible to account for their abjectly servile attitude unless the King's arbitrary government tended to the better security of the country. For not only did they invest him with supreme power over the Church, but they enacted treason laws to suit his pleasure, placing the consciences, and even the thoughts, of his subjects at his mercy. They cancelled his debts, legalised his proclamations, illegitimised his children, and even gave him the right to settle the succession by his will. Thus Henry attained the apparently contradictory position of a despot ruling by the forms of law.

CHAPTER IX

THE DOCTRINAL REFORMATION

HENRY, who had been empowered by Parliament to settle the succession to the throne by his will, had appointed his son Edward, a mere child not ten years old, to succeed him, and had also nominated a Council of sixteen to govern the kingdom during the boy king's minority. Although these councillors seemed to have been selected with a view to maintaining a fairly even balance between the two opposing religious parties, in reality the ascendency lay with the Reformers. For Gardiner, the ablest champion of the "old learning," had been deliberately excluded, while the Earl of Hertford, the King's uncle, who was immediately chosen as Lord Protector, and shortly after created Duke of Somerset, was a staunch supporter of Cranmer's reforming views. In fact, with the exception of Lord Chancellor Wriothesley and Bishop Tunstall, none of the councillors were likely to offer a very strenuous resistance to further religious changes. The fact also that three zealous Reformers had been appointed as tutors to Edward would seem to support Cranmer's assertion that Henry was, at the time of his death, contemplating a more thorough reformation.[1]

The bishops, probably in order to confirm their acceptance of the Royal Supremacy, were required to

[1] Cf. Cranmer's Works, vol. ii, p. 416 *n.*; and Burnet, vol. iii, p. 33.

take out fresh commissions from the new Sovereign to exercise their jurisdiction during the King's pleasure.[1] This somewhat Erastian guarantee of loyalty was, however, not long enforced, as the new bishops created during the reign were empowered to hold their sees for life.

A certain number of the more fanatical Reformers determined to precipitate religious changes by violently and illegally removing images and crucifixes from the churches. Thus, to prevent a general outbreak of iconoclasm, the Council was obliged to issue proclamations strictly forbidding all unauthorised innovations.

Religious Changes

At the same time a general visitation of the realm was ordered, during which Episcopal jurisdiction was suspended. The fierce heresy and treason laws enforced during Henry's "reign of terror" were allowed to be in abeyance, with the result that the unrestrained liberty to preach and teach which the "heretics" suddenly acquired was frequently abused by the more ardent spirits, and occasioned great scandal to Gardiner and the conservative party. In this heated state of religious controversy the Council decided to proceed carefully, "being in doubt," as Cranmer said, "how men will take the change or alteration of abuses in the Church."[2] Accordingly, in July, 1547, the visitors published Injunctions concerning the conduct of divine service, the lives of the clergy, and against superstitious practices and the abuse of images. These were supplemented by a translation of Erasmus's paraphrase of

[1] Bonner had taken out a similar commission in 1539 for his See. Burnet, vol. i, p. 345.

[2] Cranmer's Works, vol. ii, p. 416.

the New Testament, a copy of which was to be provided for every parish church, and by a Book of Homilies, compiled by Cranmer, containing practical instruction on Christian doctrine and morality. On account of the scarcity of preachers the Curate was directed to read one of these Homilies each Sunday.

The abundant need for inquiry into the spiritual condition of many parishes was fully evident from an official account of a visitation of the diocese of Gloucester some four years later, when it was discovered that out of three hundred and eleven clergy *one hundred and sixty-eight could not repeat the Ten Commandments in English, thirty-one were ignorant of the author of the Lord's Prayer, and forty could not tell where it was to be found.*[1] With the laity the state of ignorance was apparently even worse. Early in Mary's reign the inhabitants of Norfolk and Suffolk in stating their inability to violate their consciences by obeying the command to restore the old Latin services, "which overthrew godliness and Christ's true religion," petitioned the Queen, "to render God's Word again unto the Churches." For owing to the unprofitableness of the Latin prayers "blindness and error," were, they declared, so great that "not one man in all this realm unlearned in Latin could say in English the Lord's Prayer or knew any one article of his belief or could rehearse one of the Ten Commandments."[2]

The new Injunctions and Homilies met with considerable opposition, especially from Bonner and Gardiner. Bonner was induced to submit, but Gardiner resisted all arguments, and was imprisoned for several

[1] *Later Writings of Bishop Hooper*, p. 151.
[2] Foxe, *ut supra*, vol. viii, p. 123.

weeks in the Fleet.[1] He contended strongly that it was unlawful to make any alterations in religion during Edward's minority, and that the teaching contained in the Homilies was opposed to the *Erudition of any Christian Man* which Henry had so recently authorised.[2]

Princess Mary also urged that the religious changes were contrary to the will of her father, to which Somerset replied that it had been Henry's great regret at his death " that religion was so uncertainly established, and that he would have done much more to perfect a reformation if he had lived."[3] The Protector also told Gardiner that " We study to do all things temperately and with quiet and good order . . . that neither superstition, idolatry, or papacy should be brought in, nor lightness nor contempt of good order be maintained."[4]

Parliament met in November and passed an important Act which redeemed Henry's reported promise of " turning the mass into a communion."[5] Convocation had already unanimously recommended the administration of the Communion in both kinds, and a bill authorising this change " as more conformable to the practice both of the Apostles and of the primitive Church." was now carried. The priest was compelled to explain the nature and benefit of the Sacrament the day before its administration, and exhort all present to receive it with him, and none

[1] He courageously told Sir J. Godsalve, who had warned him that his disobedience might cost him his bishopric, that " Honesty and Truth are more lief to me than all the possessions of the Realm." Burnet, vol. iii, p. 135, *Records*, No. 13.

[2] Cf. Foxe, vol. vi, pp. 30-50.

[3] Cf. Burnet, vol. iii, p. 140, *Records*, No. 15.

[4] Foxe, vol. vi, p. 35.

[5] Burnet, vol. iii, p. 33.

were to be denied from communicating without lawful cause.

It is not unimportant to notice that by this Act, the medieval Canon Law, which since 1222 had made Auricular Confession compulsory once a year before Communion, was abrogated; since it stated that "every man may try and *examine his own conscience* before he shall receive (the sacrament). The minister shall not without lawful cause deny the same to any person that will humbly and devoutly desire it; any law, statute, *ordinance or custom* thereunto in anywise notwithstanding."[1]

Repeal of Treason Laws

Another Act of the greatest consequence was passed repealing all the tyrannical Treason Acts of the last reign and all laws passed against heresy since the reign of Richard II. Treason was now reduced to the limits defined by Edward III's famous statute, although those who presumed to *write* against the Royal Supremacy were still liable to its penalties. Full liberty was now for the first time given to print the Scriptures in English and to deliberate on religious questions. An Act was also passed for the appointment of bishops by letters patent,[2] abolishing the formality of the *congé d'élire*.[3]

Under the pretext of abolishing "superstition and errors" fostered by the "abuse of trentals and chantries,"[4] a comprehensive Chantries Act was

[1] Gee and Hardy, pp. 322-8.

[2] Henry VIII had been empowered to do this in 1539.

[3] This was apparently a reversion to the usage prevalent before the time of King John. Cf. Selborne, *Defence of the Church*, etc., p. 44. But see also Perry, *Church History*, vol. i; Appendix A, p. 519.

[4] Gee and Hardy, p. 328.

passed which completed the work begun by Henry's Act in 1545. The financial necessities of the new Government were very urgent, and it was probably considered that the confiscation by the Crown of endowments, maintained chiefly for the support of the doctrine of purgatory, would not be an unpopular act with the Reformers. Accordingly, the provisions of the Act of 1545, appropriating the endowments of chantries, were re-enacted, and in addition lands set apart for the maintenance of anniversaries or obits, or lights in any church or chapel, were given to the King. Although a proviso was inserted that these revenues should be converted to the furtherance of educational and charitable schemes, all too little seems to have been done to redeem this promise, and as a living historian aptly remarks, "the interests of the nation were sacrificed to those of its aristocracy, between the endowment of the Seymours and 'superstition' there was not very much to choose."[1]

Order of Communion

In March 1548, a new "Order of Communion" was published for general use on the following Easter Day, so that there "should be in all parts of this realm one uniform manner quietly used."[2] It provided for an English service to be added to the Latin mass, no variation from which was permitted until the priest himself had received the Sacrament, after which the communicants for the first time heard in their own tongue the Invitation, the Exhortation,[3] Confession,

[1] Pollard, *History of England*, 1547-1603, p. 120 (1910). Several Grammar Schools were, however, founded at this time out of the revenues of Chantry lands. [2] Foxe, vol. v, p. 720.

[3] The Exhortation, Confession, and Comfortable Words were taken from Archbishop Hermann's *Consultation*.

Absolution, and Prayer of Humble Access, which are so familiar to-day.

What, however, proved most objectionable to the clergy of the "old learning," as directly denying the necessity of auricular confession, was the option, freely allowed, of making "a humble confession to God and the general confession to the Church," instead of the "auricular and secret confession to the priest" which had heretofore been obligatory.

This "Order of Communion" was, however, merely a temporary expedient to allay, if possible, the intemperate zeal of the more extreme Reformers, the King expressly enjoining them "to stay and quiet themselves with this our direction," concluding that "we know what by God's word is meet to be redressed and have an earnest mind . . . with all diligence and certain speed so to set forth the same as it may most stand with God's glory,"[1] while a rubric in the book itself provided that the service of the Mass should not be further varied from "*until other Order shall be provided.*"

Religious Confusion

This peculiar compromise on the doctrine which soon became the main battle-ground of the English Reformation produced little harmony; in fact, the nature and frequency of the proclamations which were issued during this eventful year show into what a dangerous state of confusion and virtual anarchy Church questions had been plunged. Amidst the conflicting standards of faith and practice which had been enforced by Henry, and the cautious and in-

[1] Cf. Gasquet and Bishop, *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 96 (1891).

definite measures now introduced, most people must have been greatly in doubt as to what they were required to believe. The more zealous spirits, also, divining that the tide was now turning in favour of reform, were indulging in various kinds of illegal innovations, while the liberty of public preaching, recently granted, often degenerated into a licence to advocate new and curious religious opinions, or to hold up to unseemly abuse and ridicule medieval doctrines as yet uncondemned. Thus, in January 1548, Bishop Latimer had vigorously denounced the sacrifice of the Mass as the devil's means of "evacuating" the one sufficient sacrifice of Christ's death.[1] Another licensed preacher had publicly charged the people with committing the "most horrible idolatry," because they honoured as God "that which the priest doth hold over his head" during the Mass.[2] The baser and more lawless took advantage of the unsettled state of religion to rob, plunder, and profane the churches. In many churches "the utensils and ornaments were spoiled, embezzled, and made away with, partly by the churchwardens and partly by other parishioners."[3]

In consequence of the violent contention concerning the superstitious use of images, the Council issued proclamations in February, ordering the removal of all the remaining images, and forbidding all unauthorised innovations of any accustomed rites or ceremonies, although none were to be punished for not observing the long established ceremonies connected with Candlemas, Ash Wednesday or Palm Sunday, or for not "creeping to the Cross, not taking

[1] *Sermons*, p. 73.
[2] Camden Society, *Narratives of the Reformation*, p. 72 (1859).
[3] Strype, *Cranmer*, vol. i, p. 253.

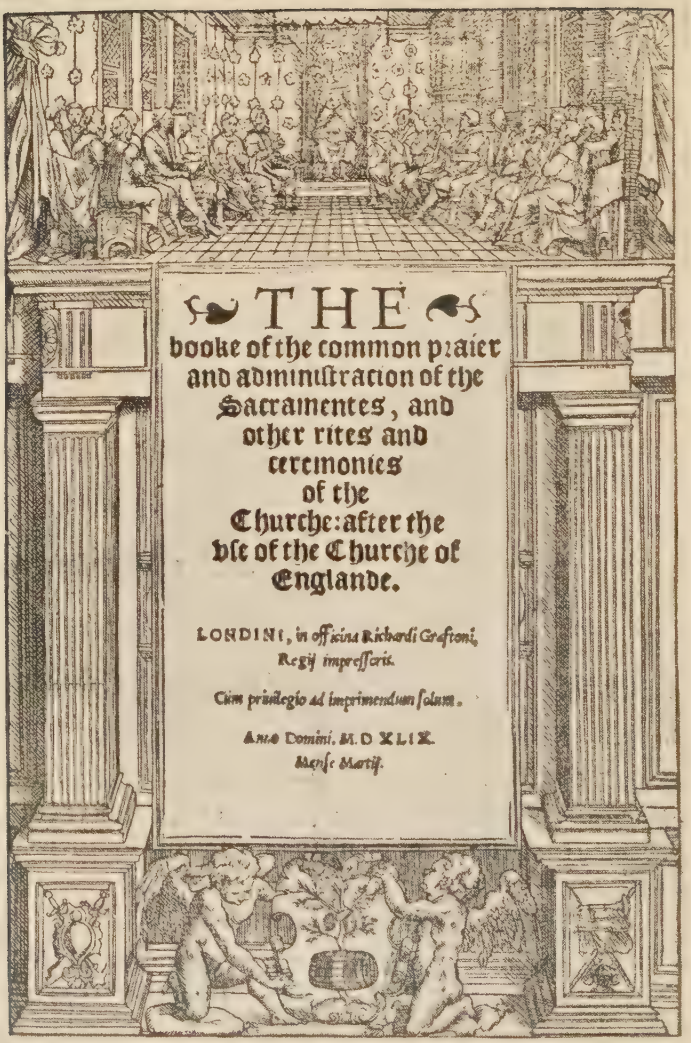
Holy Bread or Holy Water."[1] Another proclamation in May enjoined the strictest moderation on all licensed preachers, but apparently in September it was found necessary, temporarily, to prohibit preaching altogether.[2]

We can form some idea of the extent to which irreverence and profanity were rife from a proclamation which was issued forbidding "quarrelling, shouting, or bringing horses and mules into or through the churches" . . . "making the same . . . like a stable or common inn, or rather a den and sink of all unchristiness."[3]

Meanwhile a general pardon had released Gardiner from the Fleet, but being accused of fomenting in his diocese opposition to the religious changes, it was proposed that he should preach a sermon publicly approving them, the Protector, however, strictly charging him to abstain from touching on the controversy "resting at present in consultation," concerning the Mass. Gardiner gave a general though careful approval of the recent proceedings of the Council, but as he caused contention amongst his audience by asserting a corporal presence in the Sacrament, he was imprisoned in the Tower, and deprived of his bishopric some two years later.

The Lower House of Convocation had already petitioned that the work of the committee of divines appointed to remodel the service books might be laid before them, and the numerous evidences of religious unrest pointed to the pressing need of an authorised service book to establish uniformity of doctrine, wor-

[1] Burnet, vol. iv, p. 155, *Records*, No. 22.
[2] Fuller, *Church Hist.*, vol. ii, p. 314.
[3] Strype, *ut supra*, pp. 252-3.



TITLE PAGE OF THE FIRST PRAYER BOOK OF EDWARD VI.
Printed by Richard Grafton in 1549.

ship, and ceremonial throughout the kingdom. Already individual churches had, apparently with the secret approval of the Council, anticipated the proposed changes,[1] and in May we are told that "Paul's choir and divers other parishes in London sang all the service in English, both matins and evensong, and kept no Mass without some received the communion with the priest."[2]

One question concerning the new service book was settled without any controversy, for the Committee of divines, irrespective of their leanings towards the "old" or the "new" learning, unanimously decided that the new "Use" should be no longer in Latin, but in the mother tongue of the people.[3]

First Prayer Book

At length in November 1548, the work of the committee was completed, and the first Book of Common Prayer, in English, a work mainly due to Cranmer's extensive liturgical study and research, was presented to the King. The King publicly declared the book to have been set forth with the approval of Convocation,[4] but as the records of this Convocation were destroyed in the "Fire of London," there is no absolutely con-

[1] In September the Protector wrote to the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, enjoining that in "your colleges, chapels, or other churches one uniform order, rite, and ceremonies in the Mass, matins, and evensong" was to be used, "such as is presently used in the King's Majesty's chapel. . . . The which for the more plain instruction, we have by this bearer sent unto you." MS. Corpus Christi Coll., Camb., vol. cvi, p. 493.

[2] Quoted in Gasquet and Bishop, *ut supra*, p. 102.

[3] Cf. *Cranmer's Letters*, p. 450.

[4] Foxe, vol. v, p. 726, but cf. Procter, *ut supra*, p. 25, *n.*; Dixon, *History of the Church of England*, vol. iii, pp. 5-6, 130 and 146, and Archbishop Abbot's statement, quoted in Selborne, *ut supra*, p. 54, and Gasquet and Bishop, chap. x.

clusive means of determining this point. The new book occasioned considerable opposition in the House of Lords, but was finally passed on January 21, 1549—twelve of the spiritual peers supporting and eight opposing it. It had been preceded by a remarkable three days' debate in the House of Lords on the nature of the Eucharist, which is important as evidence that Cranmer and the Reforming bishops had already abandoned both the medieval and Lutheran views of the Presence of Christ in the Eucharist! Three questions—the real Presence in the elements, whether evil men receive the body or no, and transubstantiation were keenly debated. "Our faith," said Cranmer, "is not to believe Him to be in the bread and wine, but that He is in heaven." "I believe that Christ is eaten with heart; the eating with our mouth cannot give life. . . . only good men eat Christ's body, when the evil eateth the Sacrament, bread and wine, he neither hath Christ's body nor eateth it. The bread and wine are not changed outwardly but inwardly. The change is inward, not in the bread, but in the receiver."[1]

Cranmer's change of view seems to have been due to the influence of Ridley,[2] Bishop of Rochester, and there is no good evidence to prove the assertion[3] that he was influenced by the teaching of foreign divines on the subject.

Thus the new Prayer Book, although largely based in its Communion office on the medieval Sarum Missal which it superseded, deliberately broke with the currently accepted doctrine of the Sacrifice of the Mass

[1] Cf. Tomlinson's *Great Parliamentary Debate*, pp. 27, 39, and 53.
[2] Cf. Strype, *Cranmer*, vol. i, p. 98.
[3] *Original Letters*, p. 383, where this change is attributed to the influence of John a'Lasco.

by distinctly forbidding "any elevation or showing of the Sacrament to the people" during the prayer of consecration. All the old significant acts of adoration by the priest were also omitted, the Sacrifice of Christ on the Cross was described as a "full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world," and the celebration a "commemoration" of this; while in consecrating the elements, now styled "these Thy creatures of bread and wine," the words were no longer that "they *may be made unto us*," but that "they *may be* unto us the body and blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ." Solitary masses were strictly forbidden, the post-communion rubrics definitely stating that "there shall be no celebration of the Lord's Supper, unless there be some to communicate with the priest." In communicating the sick a temporary form of Reservation was allowed provided that there was a celebration of Holy Communion on that day in Church. The priest was ordered to proceed *as soon as possible* after "the open Communion in Church" and minister the reserved Sacrament to the sick person. But the reception must be preceded by the General Confession, Absolution and Comfortable Words.

An Act of Uniformity ordered this new service book to be generally used from Whitsunday 1549, declaring it to have been drawn up in conformity with "the most sincere and pure Christian religion taught by the Scripture and the usages of the primitive Church."

Varying penalties, mild for that age, were attached to those clergy who neglected to use, or attempted to defame it. The third offence involved imprisonment for life, but laymen incurred no penalties for

refusing to attend the service, unless in addition they reviled the book in "plays, songs, or rhymes."[1] The prohibition of the old service books, the compression of the separate offices of Matins, Lauds, Prime, Vespers, and Compline into the two services of Matins and Evensong, the very important departures from the Missal in the new Communion Office, and, above all, the adoption of the use of the vernacular in all public worship, amounted to changes in the conduct of divine service which must have appeared to conservative and illiterate persons little short of a revolution.

Social Unrest

It is not therefore surprising that the appearance of this first Book of Common Prayer should have provoked considerable opposition, but it would be a mistake to suppose that the tumults and insurrections which occurred in so many parts of England in 1549 were due in any great measure to these religious changes. Except in the case of the formidable rising in Devon and Cornwall, these disturbances were directly due to the very real social grievances occasioned by the economic changes of the period. The violent enclosure of waste or common lands, and the conversion of arable land into pastures for sheep had led to the eviction and destitution of a large number of peasants and yeoman farmers. While wages remained almost stationary, the prices of the necessaries of life were rapidly rising, and the growing inclination on the part of powerful landowners and merchants to exploit the poorer classes for their own advantage had already created a serious antagonism between rich and poor,

[1] Gee and Hardy, pp. 358-66.

of which these general risings were the natural outward expression. Thus Hooper, in writing of these disturbances, says, "The people are sorely oppressed by the marvellous tryanny of the nobility."[1] Bishop Scory also wrote to the King in 1551 lamenting that "there are not at this day ten ploughs, whereas were wont to be forty or fifty," and that, owing to the "great sheep-masters," "the great dearth and scarcity of all kind of victuals" had made the rural inhabitants "more like the slavery and peasantry of France than the ancient and godly yeomanry of England."[2]

The fifteen articles drawn up by the rebels in the west, however, all distinctly refer to the religious changes. They complained that the "new" service was "but like a Christmas game," and demanded the restoration of the Latin Mass,[3] the Six Articles, the old services, and the withdrawal of the Bible in English, "since otherwise the clergy could not easily confound the heretics"![4] They wished "the Sacrament to hang over the high altar and there to be worshipped," and only to be delivered to the lay people at Easter, and then only in one kind.

New Prayer Book Unpopular

Cranmer, who was deputed to answer their complaints, accused them of being ignorantly seduced by "crafty Papists," who made them ask for things that they did not properly understand. He showed them

[1] *Original Letters*, vol. i, p. 66.

[2] Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. ii, Appendix, p. 144 (1721).

[3] "We will have," they said, "the mass in Latin, as was before, and celebrated by the priest, without any man or woman communicating with him."

[4] "We will have the Bible, and all books of Scripture in English to be called in again. For we be informed that otherwise the clergy shall not of long time confound the heretics."

that the things they wished restored were superstitious innovations, which had been allowed to creep into the Church, contrary to the teachings of Christ and the customs of the first five centuries of the Christian era. The fables and idle tales in the Latin services, which they understood not, were, he said, far more like " plays and Christmas games " than this new service.[1] The King also informed them that, so far from the service being new, it was indeed none other than the old, " the self-same words in English, saving a few things taken out, so fond, that it had been a shame to have heard them in English, as all can judge who list to report the truth."[2]

The dislike of the new Prayer Book was not, however, confined to the West of England. There is very good evidence that it was generally unpopular and really satisfied very few. It was never printed after 1549 and within a year it was already under revision. In July 1549, the Council had written to Bonner complaining that " our said book so much travelled for remaineth in many places of this our realm either not known at all, or not used, or at the least, if it be used, very seldom, and that in such light and irreverent sort, as the people in many places either have heard nothing, or if they hear, they neither understand, nor have that spiritual delectation in the same that to good Christians appertaineth."[3] Many of the conservative bishops and clergy, although they reluctantly conformed to the new regulations, endeavoured to harmonise the new liturgy with the doctrine

[1] Strype, *Cranmer*, vol. ii, Appendix, p. xl.
[2] Foxe, vol. v, p. 734.
[3] Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, vol. i, pp. 78-9.

and ceremonial of medieval Catholicity.[1] Accordingly in 1549, fresh Visitation Articles[2] were issued in accordance with the Royal Injunctions of July 31, 1547, strictly forbidding the continuance of the old superstitious ceremonies. "No minister was to counterfeit the popish Mass, as to kiss the Lord's Table, blessing his eyes with the paten or sudary, . . . laying down and licking the chalice, . . . showing the Sacrament openly before the distribution of the Communion, ringing of sacring bells or setting any light upon the Lord's Board at any time . . . and finally to use no other Ceremonies than are appointed in the King's book of Common Prayers." None were to be suffered to pray upon beads, or maintain purgatory, invocation of saints, the Six Articles, images, holy water, palms, ashes, candles, creeping to the Cross, altars, . . . or any other such abuses and superstitions. That going to the sick with the Sacrament the minister have not with him either lights or bells."[3]

In spite of these strict regulations there arose, we are told, a "marvellous schism, and variety of fashions, in celebrating the common service, for some did gladly follow the order thereof, and others though not so willingly admitting them, did yet dissemblingly and

[1] On October 11th, 1550, the Privy Council gave order "that Thomas Asteley join with two or three honest gentlemen of London for the observation of the usage of the communion in Paul's, whereof information was given that it was used as the very mass." *Acts of Privy Council*, 1550, p. 138.

[2] The third of the Injunctions of 1547 had expressly declared that "only two lights upon the high altar before the Sacrament shall remain still, to signify that Christ is the very true light of the world"; but the clergy were now instructed "to omit all Injunctions which make mention of the Popish Mass, of Chantries, of candles upon the altar, or any suchlike thing." Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, vol. i, p. 7 (1844).

[3] Burnet, vol. iv, p. 197, *Records*, No. 33.

patchingly use some part of them; but many, carelessly contemning all, would still exercise their wonted popery.[1] Similar testimony was given by Bucer who declared that "the Divine offices were recited so frigidly, slovenly and mumblingly, that they are understood by the common people just as well as if they had been read in an African or Indian dialect." Although the service is in the vulgar tongue, "the sacrificers," he declares, "recite it of set purpose so indistinctly that it cannot be understood. . . . Not a few of the priests show forth the sacred communion of Christ as the papistical mass and the people are present with no other intention than to assist at the mass itself. Hardly any one takes the sacrament except the sacrificer alone.[2] This statement is confirmed by Hooper, who writing at the time, says that "many still retain their vestments and the candles before the altars, where they had the principal or high mass they have now, as they call it, the high communion, and observe the same tone and manner of chanting to which they were heretofore accustomed in the papacy."[3] Bishop Bonner soon incurred the censures of the Council for not enforcing the new service book,

[1] Foxe, vol. v, p. 720.

[2] Gorham, *Reformation Gleanings*, p. 201, and Bucer, *De Regno Christi*.

[3] *Original Letters*, p. 72. Such variations were directly contrary to the strict terms of the Act of Uniformity, 1549 (which were re-affirmed in the subsequent Acts) that ministers must conduct all the services "in such order and form as is *mentioned* in the said book, and none other or otherwise." No omissions or additions to the prescribed ceremonial or ritual were to be allowed. As the Preface of the 1549 and of the two following Prayer Books distinctly states, "Furthermore by this order, the Curates shall need none other books for their public service, but this book and the Bible." This explains the official destruction of the old service books right on into Elizabeth's reign.

and for allowing the people, not only to neglect divine service, but also to "frequent foreign rites of masses and other orders than in this realm are appointed."[1] He was accordingly ordered to preach a sermon approving the recent changes, and vindicating the authority of the Royal Supremacy. His discourse not proving satisfactory, a special commission endeavoured to extort from him a promise of full obedience. Bonner, however, refused to recognise its authority, and, instead of answering the questions addressed to him, ignored or insulted the Commissioners, in consequence of which he was deprived of his bishopric and imprisoned.

New Ordinal

A new Ordinal drawn up by a commission of "six prelates and other learned men in God's law," was published in March 1550, abolishing or greatly simplifying many of the rites contained in the medieval Pontificals, and only making provision for the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons. This occasioned the deprivation of Bishop Heath of Worcester, who refused to accept it. About the same time, after a protracted trial, Gardiner was deprived of his see, and in October of the same year (1551) Bishop Day met with a similar fate for refusing to obey an order of the Council to substitute communion tables for altars in all churches.

A painful illustration that neither of the religious parties possessed any true idea of toleration was afforded by the condemnation of Joan Bocher, who had imbibed some of the opinions of the more fanatical

[1] Foxe, vol. v, pp. 745 and 763.

of the Anabaptists, a new and growing sect which had lately arisen on the Continent, many of whom had already found their way to England. "Joan of Kent," besides apparently rejecting the tenet of infant baptism, denied that "Christ was truly incarnate of the Virgin." She was imprisoned for over a year, during which time Cranmer and Ridley endeavoured in vain to reclaim her from her heretical opinions, and at length, in May 1550, she was burned at the stake.

Fall of Somerset

Meanwhile, in September 1549, an active conspiracy, headed by the Earl of Warwick, a popular and successful general, was set on foot to overthrow the Protector. Somerset was accused of assuming almost regal power in the government. Hated by the nobility for his sympathy with the social grievances of the peasants, by the conservative party for his religious policy and his shameful pillage of Church property, and by the more zealous Reformers for his lenient treatment of the "papists," he was charged with high treason, and imprisoned in the Tower. Warwick now succeeded to the chief place in the Council, but Somerset soon recovered his liberty, and proved too dangerous an opponent to the unscrupulous and ambitious policy of his rival. Accordingly, in 1551, a charge was fabricated against him of attempting to regain his position by murder and insurrection, and he was condemned and executed in January 1552, to the great grief of the common people, who regarded him as the champion of their wrongs.

The hopes entertained by the reactionary party,

from this change of government, were short-lived, as Northumberland, to give him his more familiar title, soon discovered that he could best advance his own interests by espousing the cause of the more extreme Reformers, and thus the cautious and moderate policy pursued by Somerset was abandoned during the remainder of the reign.

The new Prayer Book had by no means met with universal approbation, even from the Reformers. Most of them accepted it as a rather unsatisfactory compromise, and considered some of its teaching as vague, ambiguous, or liable to misconstruction. That this was possible was evidenced by the fact that Gardiner was able to declare the book "not distant from the Catholic faith in my judgment."[1] Some of the more advanced reformers regarded it as barely tolerable. Thus Hooper, who, during his sojourn abroad, had imbibed the views of Henry Bullinger, Zwingle's famous disciple, described it "as very defective and of doubtful construction, and in some respects, indeed, manifestly impious,"[2] and on his appointment to the see of Gloucester, in 1550, he refused to be consecrated in what he described as "Aaronic vestments and inventions of anti-Christ."[3] Cranmer and Ridley, who were upheld by the opinion of Bucer and Peter Martyr,[4] earnestly entreated Hooper to accept the episcopal habit in the light of "things indifferent." At length, after an acrimonious and unedifying dispute lasting

[1] Cranmer's Works, vol. i, p. 92.

[2] *Original Letters*, vol. i, p. 79.

[3] Hooper also refused to take the prescribed oath: "So help me God, all the Saints and holy Evangelists," and this, at the instance of the King, was dispensed with.

[4] A learned Florentine exile who was installed as Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford.

eight months and ending in a period of imprisonment, Hooper was induced to conform.[1] Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius, two very learned and distinguished foreign divines, whom Cranmer had most cordially invited to England and installed as divinity professors at Cambridge, accepted the book as merely a temporary expedient to win over the people "lest they be deterred by too extensive innovations from embracing Christ's religion."[2] Dryander, a Spanish refugee, complained of its obscurity of language concerning the Lord's Supper, although he admitted that "the summary of doctrine" it contained "could not be found fault with."[3]

Cranmer on the Eucharist

Cranmer himself soon had good reason to see the need of more careful expression in the Communion Office. In 1550 he had published his famous treatise, entitled *The Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Our Saviour Christ*, in which he asserted a Scriptural doctrine of a real spiritual Presence to all worthy receivers of the Sacrament in opposition to the Lutheran and Roman theories of a Corporal Presence or Transubstantiation.[4]

[1] Cf. Strype, *Cranmer*, chap. xvii.

[2] *Original Letters*, p. 535. "We hear," they wrote, "that some concessions (e.g., Eucharistic vestments and the use of chrism) have been made both to a respect for antiquity and to the infirmity of the present age."

[3] *Original Letters*, p. 351.

[4] "We say not as you do, that the body of Christ is corporally, naturally, and carnally either in the bread and wine or forms of bread and wine, or in them that eat and drink thereof. But we say that He is corporally in heaven only, and spiritually in them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine. You make an article of the faith which the old Church never believed or heard of."—Cranmer's Works, vol. i, p. 54.

This attack by the Primate of the English Church on the cherished and fundamental doctrine of medieval Catholicity soon brought forth a vigorous and skilful reply from Gardiner, who endeavoured to prove that the Archbishop's views contradicted the teaching of the new Prayer Book, which "set forth the most true Catholic doctrine of the substance of the Sacrament."[1]

With this deliberate attempt to "Romanise" the new liturgy, it is not surprising that Cranmer and the Reformers should desire its further alteration and purification. The question was raised in Convocation at the close of 1550, and apparently a selected committee of divines were authorised to review it.[2] There is little doubt that this further reformation was actively encouraged, if not greatly influenced, by the celebrated foreign divines now residing in England. Quite a number of religious refugees,

The Foreign Reformers

fleeing from persecution on the Continent, were hospitably received at this time, and a colony of French and Flemish weavers had settled at Glastonbury under the spiritual care of Valerandus Pollanus. John a'Lasco, a distinguished Polish nobleman, the intimate friend of Erasmus and Melancthon, had been made superintendent of the foreign congregations in London, and was conspicuous in his opposition to the vestments and some of the ceremonies prescribed by the Prayer Book. Calvin also, from Geneva, and Bullinger, from Zurich, wrote earnestly exhorting both King and Primate to abolish the remnants of "popish superstition."

[1] *Ibid*, vol. i, p. 55.
[2] Cf. *Original Letters*, pp. 314 and 444.

Bucer was specially consulted concerning the proposed revision, and published a lengthy criticism of the service

Bucer's Censura

book. In this *Censura*, in which Peter Martyr concurred, Bucer reviewed the whole Prayer Book, and, although he declared that "he found nothing in it but what was either taken out of the Word of God, or, at least, not contrary to it, provided it was fairly interpreted,"[1] yet he made numerous suggestions for alteration or omission, most of which were incorporated in the new book.[2] He favoured the abolition of clerical habits because some used them superstitiously; and desired a rubric to exhort people to communicate constantly instead of only once a year. He objected to the commemoration of the departed and to the form of the prayer of consecration, and took exception to several of the ceremonies in the Baptismal Office. He also vigorously remonstrated against the spoliation of Church property. "Be as diligent," he concluded, "in guarding the property of Christ from sacrilege as you are in guarding your own from rapine."[3] . . .

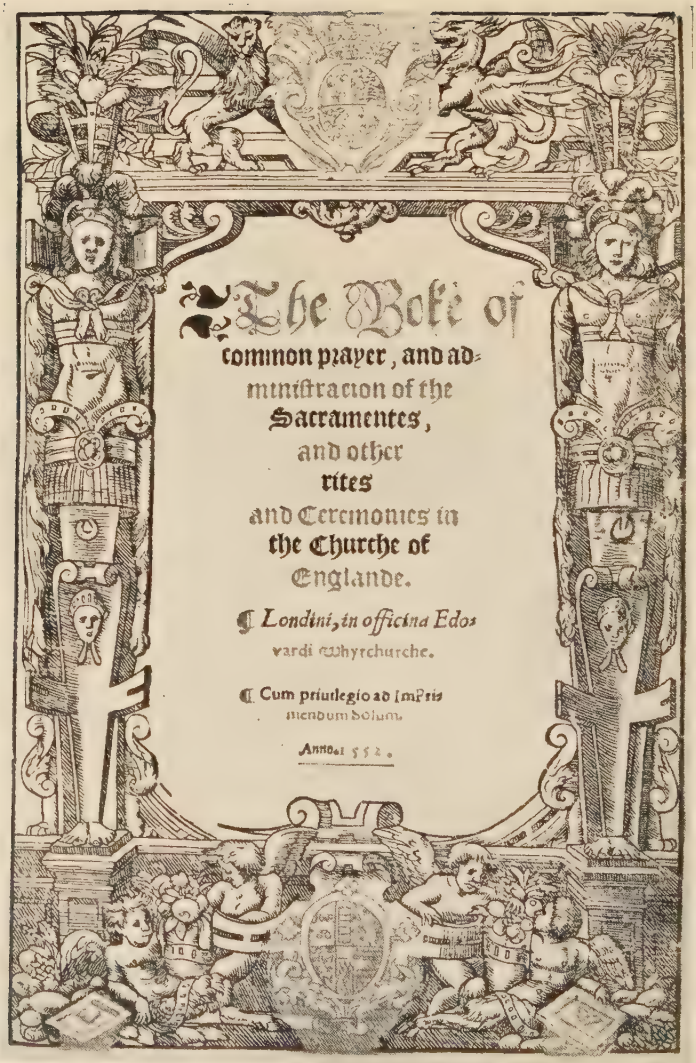
Altars Removed

Before the revised liturgy was enacted, the Council issued an order, in November 1550, requiring the bishops to remove all altars and substitute instead Communion Tables "to be set up in some convenient part of the

[1] Collier, vol. v, p. 397.

[2] It would, however, be unwise to conclude, as a recent writer well points out, that Bucer instigated all the alterations which coincided with his suggestions. Cf. Upton, *Outlines of Prayer Book Hist.*, p. 176. We are distinctly told that the bishops had decided on "many changes" before Bucer's criticisms had been received. Cf. Strype's *Cranmer*, vol. ii, p. 399, and Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, p. 647 (1872).

[3] Dixon, *ut supra*, vol. iii, p. 291.



TITLE PAGE OF THE SECOND PRAYER BOOK OF EDWARD VI.

Printed by Edward Whytchurche, 1552.

chancel," " because the form of a table shall more move the simple from the superstitious opinions of the popish Mass unto the right use of the Lord's Supper," which " Christ did institute at a table and not at an altar. For the use of an altar is to make sacrifice upon it; the use of a table is to serve for men to eat upon."[1] Ridley, who had succeeded Bonner as Bishop of London, had already, " to avoid dissention amongst the unlearned," issued, solely on his episcopal authority, a similar injunction during the visitation of his new diocese.

The Second Prayer Book

The revised Prayer Book seems to have been completed early in 1551, but was not presented for the approval of Parliament or Convocation[2] till January 1552, and on April 6 an Act of Uniformity was passed ordering its general enforcement after the following first of November. After stating " that a great number of people in divers parts of the realm . . . wilfully refuse to come to their parish churches," it declared the First Book to have been " a very godly order agreeable to the Word of God and the primitive Church," but because " divers doubts " had arisen in its " use and exercise," " through the curiosity of the minister and mistakers . . . therefore for the more perfection of the said order " it had been thought well to have it " faithfully and godly perused, explained, and made fully perfect." Penalties were attached to those who should presume to attend any other form of service.[3]

[1] Foxe, vol. vi, pp. 6-7.

[2] It is a disputed point whether the second Prayer Book ever received the approval of Convocation. Cf. Perry, *Church History*, ii, p. 212, and Procter and Frere, *Hist. Prayer Book*, p. 80.

[3] Gee and Hardy, pp. 369-72.

The new book differed very considerably from its predecessor, especially in the Communion Office, where, as it has been well observed, "it was not a little significant that everything in the first Prayer Book upon which Gardiner had fixed as evidence that the new liturgy did not reject the old belief, was in the revision carefully swept away and altered."[1] The Ten Commandments were introduced. The Consecration Prayer was divided into three parts, the invocation of the Holy Spirit on the elements was omitted, and the second part of our present Words of Administration was substituted for the first, while all mention of the "faithful departed" was removed. The words "mass" and "altar" were no longer retained, and special vestments were distinctly forbidden by an "ornaments rubric," which directed that "the minister at the time of the Communion and all other times in his ministration shall have and wear a surplice only." There were also several alterations in the Occasional Offices; the use of exorcism, chrism and the chrisom being discontinued in the Baptismal Service, as well as the sign of the cross in Confirmation, and Extreme Unction in the Visitation of the Sick.

The book, although it did not altogether satisfy the scruples of the more extreme Protestants,[2] was a distinct triumph for the Reformers. It soon gained a far greater popularity than its predecessor since even in the few months of its existence eight editions of it are known to have been in use.

[1] Gasquet and Bishop, p. 289.

[2] Cranmer denounced the contention of the extremists that "whatsoever is not commanded in the Scripture is against the Scripture and utterly unlawful and ungodly," as a "subversion of all order as well in religion as in common policy," and as "the chief foundation of the error of the Anabaptists and of divers other sects."

Stimulated largely by the violent invectives of John Knox, the celebrated Scotch reformer, a determined attempt was made to remove the rubric directing the reverent attitude of kneeling to receive the Holy Communion. Cranmer, however, frustrated the proposal, which he declared had been made " at the bidding of inglorious and unquiet spirits who can like nothing but that is after their own fancy, and would still find faults if the book were altered every year. They say that kneeling is not commanded in Scripture; and what is not commanded in Scripture is unlawful. This is the root error of the sects! If that be true take away the whole book of service . . . If kneeling be not expressly enjoined in Holy Scripture, neither is standing nor sitting. Let them lie down on the ground and eat their meat like Turks or Tartars."[1] But by virtue of an " Order in Council " a Declaration, usually known as the " Black Rubric,"[2] was added, explaining that no superstitious adoration was intended by the practice.

[1] *State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI*, vol. xv, No. 15.

[2] This found no place in the Elizabethan Prayer Book, but was reinserted at the Revision of 1662, with the substitution of the word " corporal " for " real and essential." This change was necessary because of the altered terms of controversial phraseology, as the phrase " Real Presence " at the Reformation was generally interpreted to mean " real and bodily " (*realem et corporalem*, Art. xxix, 1552). Thus Dean Aldrich, writing in 1687, says, " The Protestants in King Henry VIII's time that suffered upon the Six Articles denied the *Real Presence* (i.e., in the Popish sense of it), but meant the same thing with us who think we may lawfully use that term." *Reply to Two Discourses*, p. 17 (1687), and cf. Art. " Black Rubric " in *Prayer Book Dict.* (1912). Article xxviii asserts that " the body of Christ is given, taken and eaten in the Supper only after a heavenly and spiritual manner," in direct opposition to the Council of Trent which declares, " If any one shall say that Christ exhibited in the Eucharist, is eaten only in a spiritual manner and not also sacramentally (in a Sacramental manner) and really, let him be anathema."

The Forty-two Articles

Concurrently with the revision of the Prayer Book Cranmer was engaged, probably with the assistance of Bishop Ridley, in drawing up a Confession of Faith for the Reformed Church of England. In May, 1552, these articles were sent to a certain number of bishops for their approval and then presented to the King, who ordered them to be revised by six of his chaplains, and in the following June they were published with the royal sanction, the title stating that they "had been agreed upon by the bishops and other learned men in the Convocation of 1552." This claim was, however, virtually denied by Cranmer,[1] and although the point has been considerably disputed, there seems little reason now to doubt the truth of Burnet's conclusion that they "were not passed in Convocation, nor so much as offered to it."[2]

It has been well observed that these Forty-two Articles "showed a surprisingly comprehensive and moderate spirit. The broad, soft touch of Cranmer lay upon them when they came from the furnace. Nearly half were such as is common to all Christians, but even in these the brevity of statement and the avoidance of controversy is to be admired."[3] Several of the Articles were either borrowed from or based on the "Augsburg Confession," but on the question of the Eucharist, "the central point at this time, round which all the controversies of the Reformation turned,"[4] the Lutheran teaching was entirely rejected, and the

[1] Cf. Works, vol. i, p. 422.
[2] Vol. v, p. 258; cf. Hardwick, *Hist. of Articles*, ch. v., and Dixon, vol. iii, pp. 513-8.
[3] Dixon, vol. iii, p. 520.
[4] Gasquet and Bishop, p. 288.

Articles were in practical harmony with the "Reformed" Confessions. The Sacraments, now reduced to two, were declared to be not merely "badges, or tokens of Christian men's profession," but "effectual signs of grace by which God doth work invisibly in us." The marriage of the clergy was expressly allowed; "sacrifices of Masses"[1] were described as "fables and dangerous deceits"; and the doctrine of the Schoolmen[2] concerning purgatory, adoration of images, and the invocation of saints was declared to be "perniciously repugnant to the Word of God." The Articles were issued in conjunction with a catechism compiled by Bishop Ponet, which formed the basis of one issued later by Dean Nowell.

An attempt, which had been made first in Henry's reign, to revise the old medieval Canon Law, was accomplished by Cranmer in 1552. But this *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, largely owing, apparently, to the opposition of Northumberland, never attained statutory authority.

[1] Ridley declared "Christ made one perfect sacrifice for the sins of the whole world; neither can any man re-iterate that sacrifice of His and yet is the Communion an acceptable sacrifice to God of praise and thanksgiving. But to say that thereby sins are taken away (which wholly and perfectly was done by Christ's passion, of which the Communion is only the memory) that is a great derogation of the merits of Christ's passion, for the Sacrament was instituted that we receiving it, and thereby recognising and remembering His passion, should be partakers of the merits of the same. For otherwise this Sacrament doth take upon it the office of Christ's passion, whereby it might follow that Christ died in vain." *Works*, vol. i, p. 295.

[2] "It is a mistake," says Bishop Dowden, "begotten of ignorance to suppose that in their theological pronouncements they (the Reformers) dealt merely or even chiefly with popular misconceptions and popular superstitions. They had in full view the authoritative teaching of the recognised doctors of the then prevailing medieval theology." *Theological Literature*, p. 9 (1897).

Spoliation of the Church

It would be impossible to condemn too severely the wholesale robbery and spoliation of Church property which went on throughout this reign. Somerset's record was sufficiently black, but the avarice and rapacity of Northumberland knew no bounds. Not only were the parish churches despoiled of their valuable plate, ornaments, and vestments, to fill the empty coffers of the Exchequer, or adorn the houses of the wealthy, but rich sees were plundered or suppressed, and churches and episcopal palaces demolished to glut the appetites of corrupt and sacrilegious statesmen. Somerset House was built on the ruins of a parish church and three episcopal residences, whilst Westminster Abbey was only saved from destruction by the timely surrender of half the revenues of the Dean and Chapter. Bishop Ridley's strong protest was the means of frustrating Somerset's plan of abolishing Clare Hall, Cambridge, although Cranmer's opposition failed to prevent the pillage of church goods by Northumberland's commissioners in February, 1553.[1] The see of Westminster was suppressed, and the grasping Northumberland almost succeeded in dealing a deathblow to that of Durham; the liberal-minded Tunstall, in spite of Cranmer's vigorous protest, being deprived of the bishopric on a trumped-up charge of treason.[2]

It is not surprising, with such a fearful example of sacrilege and corruption in high quarters, that morality generally should have been at a very low ebb, and many parishes in a neglected and impoverished condition. Bishop Latimer, who had been engaged throughout

[1] Cf. Ridley's *Works*, pp. 59 and 327.
[2] Cf. Strype, *Cranmer*, vol. ii, p. 417.

the reign in courageously denouncing the many prevalent abuses, gives a terrible picture of the spiritual destitution that abounded. " To consider what hath been plucked from Abbeys, colleges, and chantries, it is marvel no more to be bestowed upon this holy office of salvation. . . . Schools are not maintained; scholars have not exhibition, the preaching office decayeth."[1] Bernard Gilpin told the King that " a thousand pulpits are covered with dust, some have not had four sermons these fifteen or sixteen years,"[2] and Bucer, shortly before his death in 1551, in a dignified letter, admonished the young ruler that " Those are not to be listened to who will that the religion of Christ be thrust upon men only by proclamations and by laws . . . who strive to hand the government of the religion of Christ to those . . . who make way for the greed of men to seize the wealth of the Church, and little by little to do away altogether with Christ's religion."[3]

There is little doubt that this sacrilegious lust of the courtiers, combined with the unwise impatience of the more advanced Reformers, did much to alienate the people from the Protestant cause during Edward's reign, and there is a very good foundation of truth in the verdict of a modern historian concerning the Marian reaction, that " the cause which prosperity had ruined, revived in the dark hour of persecution."[4]

[1] *Sermons*, p. 291.
[2] Wordsworth, *ut supra*, vol. iii, pp. 382-3.
[3] Quoted in Gasquet and Bishop, p. 300.
[4] Green, *Short Hist. of English People*, p. 357.

CHAPTER X

THE NEW LITURGIES AND THE REFORMED POSITION

ALTHOUGH it has been well remarked that "the primary aim of any liturgical formula is to assist the piety of the faithful, and not to afford a touchstone of error,"[1] yet the devotional formularies compiled by Cranmer and his associates furnish good evidence, by their silence as well as by their definite statements, of the doctrinal position claimed for the Reformed Church of England. The sources from which the new Liturgies were drawn, and the spirit which actuated Cranmer in their composition, give abundant proof that his aim was, not to break violently with all that was ancient and Catholic but, like Colet's, "to restore that old and true theology, which had been so long obscured by the subtleties of the schoolmen."[2] Thus, in his preface to the First Prayer Book, Cranmer claims that the "Order for Prayer, and for reading of the Holy Scripture" now set forth, "is much agreeable to the mind and purpose of the old Fathers, and a great deal more profitable and commodious than that which of late was used . . . because many things were left out, whereof some are untrue, some uncertain, some vain and superstitious; and nothing is ordained to be read

[1] Gasquet and Bishop, p. 184.
[2] Quoted in Seebohm, *ut supra*, p. 336.

The order where

Morninge and Euening prayer chalbe vsed and sayde.

¶ The morning, and euenynge prayer, chalbe vsed in suche place of the Churche, chapell, or Chauncell, & the minister shal so turne him, as ỹ people maye best heare. And if there be any cõtrouersie therin, the matter chalbe referred to the ordenarie, & he or his deputie shal appoynte the place, and the chaũcels shal remayn, as they haue done in times past.

And here is to be noted, that the minister at the tyme of the cõmunion, & at al other times in his ministracion, shall vse nether Albe, Vestemẽt, nor Cope: but beyng Archebishop, or Bishop, he shal haue and weare a rochet: & beeyng a priest or Deacon, he shal haue and weare a surples only.

¶ An order for morninge

prayer dayly throughout the yeare.

At the beginning both of morning prayer, and likewyse of euening prayer, ỹ minister shal reade with a loud voyce, some one of these sentẽces of ỹ scriptures that folowe. And thẽ he shal say that, which is writtẽ after the said sentẽces.

AT what time soeuer a synner doeth repente hym of hys synne, from the bottome of hys heart: I wyl put all his wickednes oute of my remembraunce sayth the Lorde. Ezechiel xviii.

I do know mine owne wickednes, and my synne is alway against me. Psalm. li.

Turne thy face away from oure sinnes (O Lorde) and blot out all oure offences. Psalm. li.

A sorowfull spyryte, is a Sacrifice to God: despyse not (O Lord) humble and contrite heartes. Psalm. li.

Rente your heartes, and not your garmentes, and turne to the lorde your God, because he is gentle and mercyful, he is patient and of muche mercy, and suche a one that is sory for your afflictions. Joel. ii.

To thee O lord God belongeth mercy & forgeuenes, Daniel. ix

First Page of the Order for Morning Prayer in the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. 1552

but the very pure Word of God, or that which is agreeable to the same."[1]

The same conservative spirit was displayed in regard to the use of the ancient ceremonies, some of which Cranmer declares are abolished because " their excessive multitude was so great, and many of them so dark, that they did more confound and darken than declare and set forth Christ's benefits unto us," and others because they had been so greatly abused by " superstitious blindness " or " insatiable avarice," but the rest are retained because, " where the old may be well used, they cannot reasonably be reproved only for their age."[2]

Sources of the English Liturgy

Thus Cranmer's main aim in drawing up the English Book of Common Prayer was to follow closely the old familiar Latin service books, except where he perceived they required simplifying or purifying. Accordingly, the Breviary, purged of its frequent invocation of saints ; the Missal, with its central doctrine of a sacrifice of the " Host " significantly omitted ; the Manual and the Pontifical of the Sarum Use, formed the ground-work of the new Liturgy.[3] Numerous and valuable additions were, however, made from other sources. Cranmer was indebted both to Eastern liturgies and to the *Breviary* of a Spanish Cardinal named Quignon, but especially to a Lutheran service book compiled by Archbishop Hermann of Cologne,[4]

[1] " Concerning the Service of the Church."—P.B.

[2] " Of Ceremonies."—P.B.

[3] Little more than one tenth of the Communion Office of 1549 was derived from the Sarum Missal. It was practically a new service.

[4] He was excommunicated by the Pope in 1546 and deprived in 1547.

from which many of the additions in the Litany, Communion, and Baptismal offices were borrowed. The service books published by the two eminent foreign refugees, Valerandus Pollanus and John a'Lasco, were also supposed to have furnished suggestions to Cranmer in his great task. Several fresh Collects were introduced, and those of venerable antiquity were beautifully rendered into English in the inimitable devotional language of Cranmer. "He borrowed and learnt and adapted," it has been well said, "from various sources, but whatever he touched he adorned. Under his hands the rudest and simplest of prayers assumed a perfection of form and expression, and grew into one of the finest monuments of sacred literary art."[1]

"Mistakers" of First Book

In spite of Gardiner's contention that the First Prayer Book was capable of being reconciled with the medieval doctrine of Transubstantiation, there is no doubt of Cranmer's intention of deliberately excluding that belief, and although from its ambiguity of language it may have been, probably designedly, tolerant of the Lutheran doctrine[2] of a Corporal Presence, yet

[1] Pollard, *Cranmer*, p. 223.

[2] The Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation is that there is an actual presence of the real body and blood of Christ "in, with and under" the bread and wine *at the time of reception only*. "As regards consecration we believe, teach and confess, that no human work, nor any pronouncing (of words) by the minister of the Church, is the cause of the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Supper, but that this is to be attributed to the sole omnipotent power of our Lord Jesus Christ." "By sacramental union the bread is the body of Christ, that is, when the bread is handed out there is also present and truly exhibited the body of Christ. For *outside the use* . . . the body of Christ is not present." *Formula Concordiae* (1582) pars. i, cap. vii, and pars. ii, cap. vii.

it was equally patient of the " Reformed " teaching on the Eucharist, to which Cranmer himself approximated.

In view of the serious and determined effort which is made to return to the First Prayer Book of 1549, at least for a temporary alternative Communion Service, it is important to notice exactly how its liturgical language was interpreted, especially by the Romish party, at that time. As we have seen, most of the clergy who favoured the " old " religion, either refused to use the new service book or illegally adapted it to fit in with the traditional Mass ritual and ceremonial. Others made shift to use it by contending that its prayers implicitly taught Transubstantiation and the real objective Presence of Christ in the elements by virtue of consecration. Thus Bishop Gardiner maintained that the words of the Consecration Prayer that the bread and wine through the blessing of the Holy Spirit " may be unto us the body and blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ " taught " that Christ's most precious body is made present to us by conversion of the substance of bread into His precious body." Cranmer, in his reply, showed clearly that the Reformers had no thought that their new Prayer Book established or even encouraged such a doctrine. " Christ is present whensoever the Church prayeth unto Him, and is gathered together in His name. And the bread and wine be made unto us the body and blood of Christ (as it is in the book of common prayer) but not by changing the substance of bread and wine into the substance of Christ's natural body and blood, but that in the *godly using of them* they be unto the receivers Christ's body and blood. . . . And therefore in the book of holy

communion, we do not pray absolutely that the bread and wine may be made the body and blood of Christ, but that unto us in that holy mystery they may be so ; that is to say, that we may so worthily receive the same, that we be partakers of Christ's body and blood, and that therewith in spirit and in truth we may be spiritually nourished."[1] When we remember that at the present time an increasingly large section of the Anglican clergy hold practically the same doctrine[2] which Gardiner attempted to "read into" the 1549 Consecration Prayer, it is certainly not unreasonable to argue that should this prayer be again authorised, history would repeat itself, and it would again be claimed as teaching virtual Transubstantiation and the real objective Presence in the elements, doctrines which the Reformers so strongly condemn in their Articles and rubrics, and which certainly they deliberately intended to exclude from their First Prayer Book. Therefore the changes introduced in the Second Book signified the adoption of no new doctrinal position, but merely a more careful expression of what had been found capable of a double interpretation.

Changes in Second Book

Thus not only were the words of administration (supposed to have been borrowed from a Lutheran formula[3]) changed, but the sentence in the post-Communion thanksgiving (also adopted from a Lutheran

[1] *Lord's Supper*, p. 79.

[2] "The Declaration of Faith" made by the English Church Union, in May, 1922, to the Eastern Patriarch of Constantinople stated, "By consecration the bread and wine are changed and become the true Body and the true Blood of Christ. Christ thus present is to be adored."

[3] Dimock, *Hist. of Prayer Book*, p. 21, *n.* 2.

source), "for that Thou hast vouchsafed to feed us *in* these holy mysteries with the spiritual food of the most precious Body and Blood of Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ," was altered into "for that Thou hast vouchsafed to feed us who have duly received these holy mysteries." The Consecration Prayer also no longer used the equivocal language of "making here before Thy Divine Majesty, with these Thy holy gifts, the memorial which Thy Son hath willed us to make"; and similar alterations seemed to indicate clearly that not only were "the innovators resolved that it should henceforth be impossible to trace in the new Communion Office any resemblance, however innocuous, to the ancient Mass,"[1] but that the Lutheran teaching on the Sacrament should also find no support in the revised Liturgy.

Ecclesiastical position of Reformers

It may be well here to consider more particularly the doctrinal and ecclesiastical position of the leading Reformers. Although they were then becoming known as "Protestants," a name which had been first applied to the German Reformers at the Diet of Spires in 1529, who had published a solemn "protestation" or declaration of their appeal to Holy Scripture as the supreme and final authority in matters of faith,[2] this appellation by no means implied any departure from the principles of the Catholic faith as taught by the primitive Church,

[1] Gasquet and Bishop, *ut supra*, p. 291.

[2] In defining the "true and holy Church" the German Reformers declare "that there is no sure doctrine but such as is conformable to the Word of God; the Lord forbids the teaching of any other doctrine. This Word is the only truth; it is the sure rule of all doctrine and of all life, and can never fail or deceive us."—D'Aubigné, *ut supra*, vol. iv, p. 61 (1845).

but rather the reassertion of cardinal doctrines which had been obscured or perverted by the increasing corruption of the medieval Church. Thus they strenuously adhered to the sufficiency and final authority of Holy Scripture, a principle universally accepted by the early Church.[1] "We will answer and prove," wrote a number of eminent Protestant martyrs during their imprisonment in 1554, "out of the infallible verity, even the very Word of God, and by the testimony of the good and most ancient Fathers in Christ's Church, this our faith." "We confess and believe all the canonical books of the Old Testament, and all the books of the New Testament, to be the very Word of God, and *the judge of all controversies and matters of religion*. We believe and confess that the Catholic Church embraces and follows the doctrines of those books in all matters of religion, and is to be heard accordingly."[2] "We consider," said Cranmer in the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, "that the authority of the orthodox Fathers is by no means to be despised; for they have many excellent and useful observations. But that the Holy Scriptures should be interpreted by their decisions we do not allow. For the Holy Scriptures ought to be to us both the rules and judges of all Christian doctrine. Nay, moreover, the Fathers themselves refused to be so honoured, frequently admonishing the reader, that he should only admit their determinations and interpretations as far as he should see

[1] It has been well said that "the appeal to the Bible was the soul of the Reformation generally and of the English Reformation particularly. The Renaissance left the people untouched, the Reformation touched them deeply and it touched them through the sacred record." Dr. R. H. Murray in *Anglican Essays*, p. 77 (1923).

[2] Foxe, vol. vi, p. 552.

they were agreeable to the holy Scriptures."[1]

Thus Article V, of 1553, stated that "*Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is neither read therein nor may be proved thereby . . . no man ought to be constrained to believe as an article of faith,*" and Bishop Jewel, in his famous *Apology of the Church of England*, describes the Scriptures as "the very sure and infallible rule whereunto all ecclesiastical doctrine ought to be called to account."[2]

Similarly Luther declared, "The Bible belongs to all and so far as is necessary to salvation is clear enough."[3]

Their "Protestantism"

But although the Reformers, by sweeping away medieval abuses, were anxious to restore the primitive purity of the Catholic faith, their opponents, who still adhered to the Papal system, endeavoured to appropriate the exclusive use of the word "Catholic" and to associate "Protestantism" with a denial of all true orthodoxy. But, as Canon Dixon well points out, the Reformers "who let themselves be called Protestants were never weary of declaring themselves Catholic,"[4] and "the opposite of Catholic is not Protestant but heretic; the opposite of Protestant is not Catholic but Papist."[5] It is specially important to emphasize

[1] Tit. i, c. 15, Cardwell's edition (Oxford, 1850). Cranmer also declared that "the true written Word of God" was, "the very touchstone which must, yea and also will, try all doctrine and learning, whether it be good or evil, true or false." *Works*, vol. ii, p. 14.

[2] Part ii, chap. ix, p. 28 (1852).

[3] *Werke*, ed. J. G. Walch, xviii, 2163.

[4] The Reformers at the Westminster Disputation, 1559, declared, "We never departed from the faith of the true and Catholic Church of Christ. . . . We are of the true Catholic Church and maintain the verity thereof."—Foxe, vol. viii, pp. 681, 690.

[5] Dixon, vol. iv, p. 222.

this truth at the present time in view of a growing tendency amongst a certain school of thought to confuse the precise connotation of these two terms, and render them antagonistic. *The English Reformation proved conclusively that the essence of its "Protestantism" consisted far more in its positive reassertion of and return to, the true principles and practices of primitive Catholicity, than in its merely negative repudiation of Papal claims and doctrines. Thus the Reformed Church of England is essentially Protestant just because it is truly Catholic.* For it should be carefully borne in mind that, from the origin[1] and history of the word, Protestantism implies a "witnessing for" the true Catholic position of the early Church, and only as a melancholy consequence of this, a "protest against" the medieval departure from it. This is the position which has been always claimed by the greatest divines of the Church since the Reformation. Thus Bishop Andrewes in his treatise against Bellarmine said, "We declare aloud that we are Catholics but not Roman, the last of which words destroys the meaning of the first."[2] Writing in 1625, Dr. Thomas Jackson, President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford,[3] whom a prominent modern Churchman has described as "one of the best and greatest minds our Church has nurtured,"[4] goes so far as to say, "We Protestants of reformed Churches, who are, if not the only true Christians on earth, yet the truest Christians, and the most conspicuous members of the holy Catholic Church, as

[1] From its Latin derivation, to "protest" signifies to witness on behalf of something.
[2] *Responsio*, pp. 25 and 163.
[3] Subsequently Dean of Peterborough.
[4] The late Dr. E. B. Pusey.

militant here on earth, dare not vouchsafe to bestow the name of *Catholic* upon any Papist . . . for their faith, not purified from the additions of the second Nicene and Trent Councils, can be no Catholic faith."[1] The leaders of the "Oxford Movement" also stated in their authorised Catechism that the branches of the Church which "had continued both in the doctrine and fellowship of the Apostles" were "those called Protestant Episcopal in England, Ireland, and Scotland."[2]

On Church Government

On the question of Church polity the English Reformers not only maintained episcopacy as practically expedient at the time, but also as a most ancient and scriptural form of government which, even though in altered form, had been handed down from the time of the Apostles, and was thus historically and traditionally "Catholic." Cranmer, however, frankly admitted that "in the beginning of Christ's religion bishops and priests were no two things, but both one office," and at one time he appears to have held that "princes and governors as well as bishops may make priests," and that "a bishop or priest needed no consecration by the Scripture, for election or appointing thereto is sufficient."[3] In the *Catechism* set forth by his authority in 1548, there is, however, no hint of these novel opinions. "The ministration of God's word, which our Lord Jesus Christ did first institute, was derived from the apostles unto others after them by imposition of hands and giving

[1] *Two Treatises on the Church*, pp. 147 and 152.
[2] Quoted by Archbishop Davidson in House of Lords, August 1st, 1910.
[3] Burnet, vol. ii, pp. 281-6, *Records*, No. 21.

of the Holy Ghost, from the apostles' time to our days. This was the consecration, orders, and unction of the apostles, whereby they at the beginning made bishops and priests, and this shall continue in the Church even to the world's end."[1] It soon became evident, however, that the Reformers did not regard episcopacy as essential to the existence of a true Church, as they were anxious to live in the fullest communion and fellowship with the foreign Reformers, who were either deprived of, or who had forsaken that form of government.[2] Thus Cranmer had earnestly striven throughout the reign of Edward VI to obtain the presence in England of prominent Protestant divines from the Continent, such as Melancthon, Calvin, and Bullinger,[3] to join in

[1] Cranmer's *Catechism*, Sermon on the Keys, p. 196 (1829). In the Latin original of this passage, however, the word "bishops" does not occur (*qua consecrandi sunt sacerdotes ab initio*) see p. 167 of Latin. It is well to bear in mind that this omission agrees with the traditional teaching of the Church that the episcopate was rather a higher grade of dignity than a separate order from the priesthood, and the Council of Trent in enumerating the seven major and minor Orders of the Ministry makes no mention of bishops, but only of priests, deacons and sub-deacons, as comprising the "major" Orders.

[2] "This commonwealth of the true Church," wrote Hooper, "is known by these two marks; the pure preaching of the Gospel and the right use of the Sacraments. . . . Such as teach people to know the Church by these signs, namely, the traditions of men, and the succession of bishops, teach wrong."—*Early Writings*, pp. 81-2. Dr. Usher probably sums up fairly accurately the position of the Anglican Reformers on this question when he says: "Episcopacy was generally conceded to be expedient, but many would have been quite ready to admit that some other system might be more symmetrical and less affected by the traditions of Rome."—R. G. Usher, *The Reconstruction of the English Church*, vol. i, p. 69.

[3] Bullinger, Calvin and others actually wrote to Edward VI offering to make him their defender and to have bishops in their churches as in England, so as to foster a greater organic unity amongst the Reformed. The letter was, however, intercepted by Bishops Bonner and Gardiner, who returned an unfavourable answer and thus defeated the project. Cf. Strype, *Cranmer*, bk. ii, ch. xv, and Bramhall's *Works*, vol. iii, p. 483 *n* (1844).

a " godly synod," " to attempt an agreement upon the chief heads of ecclesiastical doctrine," and especially on the Lord's Supper ; in order that they might more effectually refute the errors which were being officially promulgated by the Romanists at the Council of Trent. In Mary's reign also, he condemned as " gross ignorance " and " arrogant boldness " the theory that " no Church could be the true Church of God, but that which standeth by ordinary succession of bishops in such pompous and glorious sort as now is seen."[1]

On the Eucharist

On the crucial question of the doctrine of the Eucharist, Cranmer and the leading Reformers, as we have already noticed, not only repudiated the medieval doctrines of a propitiatory sacrifice of the Mass and Transubstantiation, but also rejected the Lutheran theory of a Corporal Presence of Christ in, with, and under the forms of bread and wine. Their views were practically identical with those of Calvin and the more moderate of the " Reformed " divines, and were not far distant from the opinions of Zwingle, whose sacramental teaching is usually misrepresented. " Grace," said Zwingle, " is conferred along with the sacraments, but not by them as the channels " ; " I believe, that in the Holy Eucharist the real body of Christ is present to the eye of faith, that is, to those who thank the Lord for the benefits conferred on us in Christ His Son."[2] " We believe that Christ is truly in the Supper ; . . . we eat here spiritually what exists in Heaven

[1] Cranmer's *Works*, vol. ii, pp. 432-4.
[2] Cf. Mosheim, *Ecclesiastical History*, p. 588, *n.* (Murdock).

naturally . . . a true body is eaten in spirit, mind, and soul."[1]

The Helvetic Confession of 1566 declares that "the faithful receive, by the working of Christ through the Holy Ghost, the flesh and blood of the Lord, and do feed on them to everlasting life. In this sort is the Supper of the Lord accomplished spiritually, thus are the bread and wine a sacrament unto us, and not bare and naked signs. By spiritual meat we mean not any imaginary thing, but the very body of Our Lord Jesus given for us, which is yet received of the faithful, not corporally but spiritually by faith."[2]

Both Calvin and Bucer clearly repudiated the idea that the elements were bare signs. "The proper body and blood of Jesus Christ is received," said Calvin,[3] "only by faith. . . . If we believe the truth of God, we must confess that there is an inward substance of the Sacrament in the Lord's Supper joined to the outward sign; and so, that, as the bread is given by the hands, the body of Christ is also communicated, that we be partakers of Him." "The presence of Christ in the Supper." said Bucer, "is a spiritual presence, a presence of faith; he is received verily indeed by faith."[4] He complained that Luther "attri-

[1] Quoted in Harrison, *Dr. Pusey's Challenge Answered*, vol. ii, pp. 276-9 (1871). In his confession addressed to Francis I of France in 1531, Zwingle said: "Christum credimus vere esse in cœna, immo non esse Domini cœnam nisi Christum adsit . . . verum Christi corpus credimus in cœna sacramentaliter et spiritualiter edi a religiosi fideli et sancta mente, ut Chrysostomus sentit." (Cf. Art. *Expositor*, March, 1901).

[2] Hall, *Harmony of Protestant Confessions*, pp. 316-7, and 323 (1842), and quoted in Rogers on *Thirty-Nine Articles*, p. 283 (1607) and Cosin's Works, vol. iv, p. 166.

[3] Cf. Harold Browne, *Thirty-Nine Articles*, p. 703, and Harrison, *ut supra*, vol. ii, p. 291, and Cosin's Works, vol. iv, p. 168.

[4] Strype, *Cranmer*, Appendix No. xlvi.

buted too much to the outward symbols and maintained a grosser union of Christ with the bread than the Scriptures did allow as though Christ had been corporally present with it, united into a natural substance with the bread; so that the wicked as well as the faithful were made partakers of grace by receiving the elements." "Their doctrine and belief concerning the Sacrament," he declared, was that the true body and blood of Christ was truly presented, given, and received, together with the visible signs of bread and wine, by the operation of Our Lord, and by virtue of His institution according to the plain sound and sense of His words; and that not only Zwinglius and Œcolampadius had so taught, but they also, in the public confessions of the Churches of Upper Germany and other writings, confessed it, so that the controversy was rather about the manner of the presence or absence than about the presence itself."[1]

Similar language was employed by Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and even Hooper. "What availeth it to take away beads, pardons, pilgrimages, and such-like popery," said Cranmer, "so long as the two chief roots remain unpulled up? . . . The very body of the tree, or rather, the roots of the weeds, is the popish doctrine of transubstantiation, of the real presence of Christ's flesh and blood in the sacrament of the altar (as they call it), and of the sacrifice and oblation of Christ made by the priest, for the salvation of the quick and dead. Which roots, if they be suffered to grow in the Lord's vineyard, they will overspread all the ground again with the old errors and super-

[1] Quoted Cosin on *Transubstantiation*, chap. ii, 13; Works, vol. iv, p. 164.

stitions."[1] "I never said," he replied to Gardiner, "that Christ is utterly absent, but I ever affirm that He is truly and spiritually present, and truly and spiritually exhibited unto the godly receivers, *but corporally is He neither in the receivers, nor in or under the forms of bread and wine.* Doth not the nature of sacraments require that the sensible elements should remain in their proper nature to signify a higher mystery and secret working of God inwardly, as the sensible elements be ministered outwardly"? The bread and wine "be no vain or bare tokens . . . but in the due ministration of the sacraments God is present, working with His word and sacraments," and "therefore I say that Christ giveth Himself truly to be eaten, chewed, and digested; but all is spiritually with faith and not with mouth."[2]

Ridley, who declared that he had rejected the theory of Transubstantiation through reading a book written in the ninth century by a French monk named Ratramnus or Bertram,[3] said, "The true Church of Christ doth acknowledge a presence of Christ's body in the Lord's Supper to be communicated to the godly by grace, and spiritually, and by a sacramental signification, but not by the corporal presence of the body of His flesh."[4] The same doctrine is taught by Latimer. "The bread," he says, "representeth His body, so that we go unto it worthily and receive it with a good faith. Then we be assured that we feed upon Him spiritually. And like as the bread nourisheth the body, so the soul feedeth upon the very body and blood

[1] Works, vol. i, p. 6.
[2] Works, vol. i, pp. 11, 15, 127.
[3] Cf. Works, p. 206.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 236.

of Christ by faith, believing Him to be a Saviour which delivered man from sin."[1] Hooper also declares, in his *Confession of Faith*, that "The sacraments are not void and empty signs, but full—that is, they are such signs as do exhibit and give the thing that they signify indeed." "I do not believe that the body of Christ can be contained, hid or enclosed in the bread, under the bread or with the bread . . . But I believe . . . that always and as often as we use this bread and wine according to the ordinance and institution of Christ, we do verily and indeed receive His body and blood. I believe that this receiving is not done carnally or bodily, but spiritually, through a *true and lively faith*, that is to say, the body and blood of Christ are not given to the mouth and belly for the nourishing of the body, but unto the faith for the nourishing of the spirit and inward man unto eternal life."[2]

[1] *Remains*, p. 127.
[2] Later Writings, p. 45.

CHAPTER XI

THE MARIAN REACTION

One of the last of the high-handed acts of the scheming Northumberland was to persuade the young King, who since the beginning of the year (1553) had been seriously ill, to alter the Act of Succession to the throne. On the pretext of safeguarding the Reformed religion he proposed that Edward should, by his will, in defiance of the Act of Parliament, disinherit his sisters Mary and Elizabeth, and settle the Crown on the youthful and accomplished Lady Jane Grey, a somewhat remote claimant to the throne through her mother, the Duchess of Suffolk.[1] The judges and lawyers declared the plan to be treasonable, but both they and the Council were compelled to subscribe the will. Cranmer, convinced that the act was perjury, as he had already sworn to Mary's succession, at first resolutely resisted Northumberland's threats, but at length yielded on the express importunity of the young King, who exhorted him "not to be more repugnant to his will than the rest of the Council were."[2]

Northumberland's Plot

Edward VI died on the 6th of July, and Northumberland immediately proclaimed Lady Jane, queen, and endeavoured to seize the Princess Mary. With the

[1] He had previously married his son, Lord Guildford Dudley, to Lady Jane.

[2] Strype, *Cranmer*, Appendix lxxiv.

death of Edward, however, his despotic power suddenly vanished. He was detested by all parties and classes on account of his arrogance, cruelty, and rapacity, and the people rapidly flocked to Mary's standard. The Council soon deserted Northumberland, and on July 19th the Duke of Suffolk, Lady Jane's father, proclaimed Queen Mary, on Tower Hill, to the unbounded delight of the people. Bishop Ridley, who had been rash enough to preach in favour of Queen Jane, was imprisoned on a charge of treason, in company with Northumberland, and many of the other conspirators.

Besides the fact that the support of Lady Jane meant the continuance of the odious and tyrannical policy of Northumberland, there is no doubt that the majority of the people were still in favour of the "old religion," while Mary's assurance to the men of Suffolk, that she would make no change in religion, but be contented with the private exercise of her own faith,[1] greatly allayed the apprehensions of the Protestant party from her accession. Her early training, however, the unjust treatment meted out by Henry VIII to herself and her mother, and the petty persecution she had endured during her brother's reign, had not only embittered Mary's spirit, but disposed her to a bigoted adherence to her mother's faith. There is little doubt that her own inclinations favoured an immediate restoration of Papal authority, but at present she allowed herself to be guided by wiser and more moderate counsels. Her cousin, the Emperor Charles V, warned her "not to be hasty," but con-

[1] Burnet, vol. iii, p. 302, and Lingard, vol. v, p. 270 (1870).

ciliatory, and wait for the determination of Parliament,[1] and accordingly, a royal proclamation was soon issued, stating that although the Queen "would be glad if all her subjects would quietly and charitably embrace the religion she had professed from her infancy, of her gracious disposition and clemency, she would not compel any of her subjects thereunto, until such time as further order may be taken by common assent."[2] At the same time a tumult which occurred at Paul's Cross served as a pretext for forbidding all preaching without the Queen's special license.

Flight of Reformers

One of Mary's first acts had been to restore the five deprived bishops[3] to their sees, and Gardiner was in addition created Lord Chancellor. Northumberland was condemned to death, in spite of a cowardly attempt to obtain a reprieve by professing a conversion to the "old" faith, while his unwilling and unfortunate tool, the helpless Lady Jane, was detained in the Tower on a charge of treason. Many of the Reformers were already in prison for disobeying the Injunction against preaching, while the foreign refugees, and numbers of the Reforming clergy, including four bishops, sought safety from impending persecution in flight to the Continent.[4] Latimer determined to abide the storm, declaring that "he would go willingly, and render an account of his doctrine to his prince." Cranmer also courageously decided that, as he had

[1] Dixon, vol. iv, p. 13; and Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reform'n*, vol. iv, p. 45.

[2] Gee and Hardy, p. 374.

[3] Gardiner, Bonner, Tunstall, Heath, and Day.

[4] Strype puts the number of exiles at over eight hundred.—*Cranmer*, vol. ii, p. 17.

been chief agent in the late changes, it was his duty to remain and defend them. "If I were accused of parricide or any such crime," he wrote, "I might perhaps he induced to fly, though innocent. But now that it is a question of my faith, not towards man but God, and of the truth of Holy Scripture against Papal errors, I am resolved to act with the constancy that becomes a Christian prelate, and to quit my life rather than my country."[1]

In spite of the fact that the laws enjoining the use of the Reformed Prayer Book were still in force, the Mass and the Latin services were being set up in many places, the Government openly encouraging this violation of the laws. It was even reported that Cranmer had offered to restore the Mass at Canterbury, a false rumour which led the Archbishop into the rash act of drawing up a declaration strongly condemning the Mass, and offering, in company with Peter Martyr, to defend publicly, not only the Communion Service, "but the whole doctrine and order of religion" lately set forth, "as more pure and agreeable to the Word of God than any sort of religion that had been used in England these thousand years."[2]

Cranmer's Trial

This document obtaining publicity, Cranmer was sent to the Tower on a charge of "spreading seditious bills." He was soon followed by Holgate, Archbishop of York, while Hooper, Coverdale, Latimer, and many others of the more prominent Reformers, were already in prison. In the following November, Cranmer was tried for treason and condemned to death. Vainly

[1] Godwin, *Praesulibus Angliae*, p. 141 (1743), (Art. *Cranmer*).
[2] Strype, *Cranmer*, vol. ii, p. 6.

the fallen Archbishop appealed to the Queen for pardon, with the plea that as she had already pardoned so many of the other Councillors, " who," he declared, " travailed not so much to dissuade both the King and his counsel as I did,"[1] she would not refuse mercy to him. " I will never, God willing, be the author of sedition, to move subjects from the obedience of their heads and rulers, which is an offence most detestable. To private subjects it appertaineth not to reform things, but quietly to suffer that they cannot amend."[2] In spite of the fact that Cranmer is reported to have successfully interceded for her life with Henry,[3] Mary was possessed of an inflexible hatred against him for pronouncing the sentence of divorce against her mother, and was determined that he should suffer. Thus the carefully " packed " Parliament (which sat from October 5 to December 4, 1553), from which Mary had just obtained a confirmation of the marriage between Henry and Catharine, had laid all the blame of the divorce on Cranmer, *ignoring the fact that Gardiner had actively promoted the matter long before Cranmer's opinion was asked, and that both Houses of Convocation had concurred in the sentence.*

Cranmer's status as an ecclesiastic, however, prevented Mary from wreaking an immediate vengeance on him, as her conscience would not suffer her to lay " violent hands " on a churchman before he had been canonically deprived by the Pope. He was therefore kept in prison for a subsequent trial and condemnation for heresy.

[1] *Ibid,* No. lxxiv, Appendix.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Cf. Burnet, vol. iii, p. 307.

The Parliament did not prove as subservient as the Queen and Council desired. It refused to abolish the Royal Supremacy,[1] it presented a petition against the proposed marriage of Mary with Philip of Spain, and the Commons were only persuaded after prolonged debates to repeal all the statutes made concerning religion during the late reign, and restore "all such divine service and administration of sacraments as were commonly used in the last year of King Henry VIII's reign."[2] By this one Act, the Book of Common Prayer, the Forty-two Articles, and Communion in both kinds were all set aside after the ensuing 20 December, 1553.

Convocation

As most of the Reformed clergy were either in prison or in exile, Convocation which sat from October to December 1553, was composed almost entirely of those in favour of the "old religion." Weston, the Prolocutor, informed them that their work was "to rebuild the walls that the heretics had broken down."[3] The Book of Common Prayer he described as "blasphemous and erroneous," and Ponet's Cathechism with the Forty-two Articles as "pestiferous and heretical." He proposed two declarations for the subscription of the clergy, one condemning the Cathechism, and the other asserting the natural presence of Christ's body and blood in the Eucharist.

[1] Mary detested, but was forced to exercise the Royal Supremacy for as Dr. Gairdner well observes, "just as by royal authority under Henry VIII, England was freed entirely from Papal jurisdiction, so by royal authority alone could papal jurisdiction be restored." *Lollardy and the Reformation*, vol. iv, p. 268.

[2] Gee and Hardy, p. 379.

[3] Dixon, vol. iv, p. 73.

Five members, however, were bold enough to refuse assent to the reassertion of Transubstantiation, and demanded a public disputation on this burning question. The discussion lasted six days, and was conducted with much heat. Archdeacon Philpot, on behalf of the Reformers, maintained the unequal combat with much ability, but Weston's conduct was very overbearing, and the result, as might have been expected, was entirely fruitless, Weston significantly telling the dissentients, "You have the word, but we have the sword."[1]

Wyat's Rebellion

Meanwhile the rumour of the Queen's betrothal to Philip of Spain created the greatest discontent. The Protestant party feared the establishment of the Inquisition and a cruel repressive policy, such as that pursued in Spain and the Netherlands, while Englishmen generally were sceptical that any safeguards could be sufficient to prevent England becoming a mere province of Spain. In spite of the fact that Gardiner had obtained terms excluding Philip from any real power in the government, and safeguarding the independence of England in the event of Mary predeceasing him, the opposition to this foreign alliance was persistent and widespread. In January, 1554, Sir Peter Carew headed a premature revolt in Devonshire, while the Duke of Suffolk endeavoured ineffectually to arouse the Midlands, but the rising in Kent under Sir Thomas Wyat was of a far more serious character. A force from London sent against the rebels was easily persuaded to support Wyat in his professed design of preserving the nation from the Spanish yoke, and the

[1] Burnet, vol. iii, p. 341.

insurgent leader boldly marched on London and advanced as far as Ludgate before he was forced to surrender. Wyat, Suffolk, and about one hundred of the ringleaders suffered death for this treasonable attempt, while it was also the immediate cause of the execution of Lord Guildford Dudley and Lady Jane, his beautiful and innocent child wife, whose short but tragic career was thus violently cut short at the age of sixteen.[1]

Courtenay, Earl of Devon, and the Princess Elizabeth were both accused of complicity in the rebellion, and although it was found impossible to obtain satisfactory proofs of Elizabeth's guilt, she was confined to the Tower. The attempt of Renard, the Spanish ambassador, to procure her execution was apparently frustrated, at this time, by Gardiner, who, at a later date, is reported to have strongly urged the necessity of getting rid of her, on the plea that "it was vain to lop off the branches while the tree was suffered to stand."[2]

The restoration of the Mass and the old Latin services, and the readornment of the churches with the altars, images, and costly decorations which had been so ruthlessly confiscated or destroyed during the previous reign, were not accomplished without numerous signs of opposition, or acts of profanity and irreverence, for which the fanatical perpetrators usually paid dearly.[3] Accordingly, in March, the Queen issued a long list of Injunctions diligently enjoining the

[1] Lady Jane Grey had been, together with Cranmer and others, convicted of high treason on December 13th, 1553, and condemned either to be burned as a heretic or beheaded as a traitor at the Queen's pleasure.

[2] De Noailles, *Ambassade en Angleterre*, vol. i, p. 333 (1763).

[3] A cat was suspended to the gallows on Cheapside, draped like a priest, and holding in her paws a representation of a wafer.

bishops to repress "heresies and notable crimes," "unlawful books and ballads," and ordering all manner of processions and "laudable and honest ceremonies which were wont to be used," to "be frequented, used, and observed." The bishops were also to proceed "with all speed" to deprive all priests "who had married and used women as their wives."[1]

Married Clergy deprived

Bishop Bonner had already deprived all the married clergy in his diocese, and also compelled them to forsake their wives.[2] These deprivations not only occasioned great suffering, as no less than three thousand clergy appear to have been summarily ejected,[3] but the compulsory divorce from their wives was scandalously unjust, as these marriages had been fully legalised in the late reign.

At the same time, by virtue of her supremacy over the Church, Mary deprived several of the Reforming bishops on the ground of their marriage, or because of "their erroneous doctrine and inordinate lives." By this means seven sees were declared vacant, and as Bishops Barlow, Ponet, Coverdale, and Scory soon managed to escape to the Continent, abundant opportunity was afforded for the appointment of new men who would support the Government in their reactionary religious policy.

The Oxford Disputation

Convocation, which met in April, 1554, decided to submit three propositions concerning the Eucharist to the imprisoned bishops as a test of heresy. Accor-

[1] Burnet, vol. iv, p. 302, *Records*, No. 10.
[2] Strype, *Cranmer*, vol. ii, p. 39.
[3] Burnet, vol. v, p. 272.

dingly, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were sent to Oxford, and required separately to engage in an elaborate public disputation on the three crucial articles, that " after consecration the natural body and blood of Christ were really present in the Sacrament ; and no substance of bread and wine, or any other substance than the substance of Christ remained ; and that in the Mass was the life-giving propitiatory sacrifice for the sins both of the living and the dead." Cranmer was called upon to open the disputation in the presence of the most learned divines representing both universities. Confronting a hostile audience, he was frequently interrupted and browbeaten in a disgraceful manner. In fact, the whole disputation was a mere pretence, as Weston, the Prolocutor, informed Cranmer that they had not assembled to call settled doctrines in question, but to confound heretics. Cranmer, however, firmly maintained his position. " His true body," he explained, " is truly present to them that truly receive Him, but spiritually. For when He said, ' This is My body,' it is all one as if He had said, ' This is the breaking of My body ; this is the shedding of My blood. As oft as you shall do this it shall put you in remembrance of the breaking of My body and the shedding of My blood ; that as truly as you receive this sacrament, so truly shall you receive the benefit promised by receiving the same worthily.' "[1] He also delivered a written explication[2] of his views, which has been rightly described as a " learned, moderate, and noble exposition."[3]

Ridley was also subjected to the same unfair treat-

[1] Foxe, vol. vi, p. 445.
[2] Works, vol. i, p. 396.
[3] Dixon, vol. iv, p. 189.

ment of scorn, ridicule, and unseemly interruption, which he met by far more resolute methods than the patient Cranmer employed. "Holy Scripture," he declared, "allowed no order of sacrificing priests save those of Aaron or Melchizedek." "This carnal presence is contrary to the Word of God," and "falsifieth the Catholic faith of the Church."[1]

It is impossible to follow in detail these lengthy but fruitless discussions. The aged Latimer, on account of his failing memory, was obliged to rely mainly on Cranmer's treatise on the Lord's Supper.

At the conclusion of this memorable disputation, Weston, claiming that the three bishops had been vanquished, pronounced sentence against them as heretics. As, however, the heresy laws had not yet been revived, they had to undergo a further period of incarceration before they could be legally executed.

Cranmer and Ridley both publicly protested against the unfairness of the disputation,[2] and a rumour that it was intended to conduct a similar proceeding at Cambridge to try a number of prominent Reformers imprisoned in London, led these divines to publish a letter declining to engage in such a partial encounter. The letter, which was signed by Hooper, Rogers, Ferrar, Philpot, Crome and Taylor, contained a careful confession of their faith on the leading controversial doctrines.[3]

Mary was married to Prince Philip of Spain on July 27th, 1554. The cartloads of Spanish gold which he brought with him did a little to soften the general

[1] Ridley's Works, pp. 195-202.
[2] See Foxe, vol. vi, pp. 535-6.
[3] See p. 150.

dislike of the union, but his arrogant and haughty bearing soon rendered him most unpopular.

Reconciliation with Rome

Although the Queen had successfully restored the medieval faith, she had so far been thwarted in accomplishing her cherished design of a full reconciliation with Rome, and a vigorous persecution of all "heretics." She had already petitioned that Cardinal Pole might be sent to England, as Papal Legate, but not only the Emperor's advice, but also the strong aversion displayed by the Commons to the restoration of Papal authority, had convinced Mary of the necessity of delaying his visit until after her marriage with Philip had been achieved. Gardiner also opposed Pole's immediate return, mainly, it has been urged,[1] because he feared him as a dangerous rival for the Primacy, but more probably until he could obtain assurances that the present possessors of monastic lands would be undisturbed. He was shrewd enough to know that as long as this point remained uncertain, it would be impossible to restore Papal jurisdiction in England. At length the Pope was persuaded to confirm the alienation of Church lands, and Pole, after many delays, proceeded on his important mission.

A new Parliament met in November, and the electors had been specially admonished to return members of the "wise, grave, and Catholic sort," the proclamation significantly adding that there was no intention "of altering any particular man's possession."[2] Pole's attainder was at once reversed, and the Cardinal addressed the Parliament,

[1] Burnet, vol. iii, p. 331.
[2] Burnet, vol. vi, p. 240, *Records*, No. 14.

solemnly inviting the members to return to the obedience of the Holy See. Both Houses expressed their " sincere repentance for their horrible schism," and petitioned for the absolution of the Legate. With the members of both Houses kneeling before him, he pronounced, in the Pope's name, a full absolution for the whole realm, enjoining them as a penance to repeal all the anti-papal laws. Thus, the great reconciliation, surely the most humiliating national act since the abject submission of King John, was accomplished, the Queen shedding tears of piety and joy, and the members embracing one another with the words, " This day we are born again."[1]

Two days later, at St. Paul's, before a splendid and stately assembly, including the King and Queen, the Papal Legate, and the Lord Mayor, appeared the humiliating spectacle of Bishop Gardiner beseeching all the people to rejoice with him that at last the " hour had come " when once more the supremacy of " their holy father the Pope " had been restored, and deploring the large share he had taken in bringing about the schism of the past twenty years.[2]

The clergy in Convocation had also obtained absolution from Pole on December 6th, praying the King and Queen, at the same time, that the lands and properties of the monasteries which had been alienated might not be restored, " because they saw how difficult, and, indeed, impossible it would prove, and how much it would endanger the peace of the realm and the unity of the Catholic Church."[3]

[1] Cf. Dixon, vol. iv, p. 273.
[2] Foxe, vol. vi, p. 577.
[3] Gee and Hardy, pp. 395-6.

This petition was, as we have already seen, the price demanded for the reconciliation with Rome, and thus the Cardinal was reluctantly obliged to grant a full dispensation to the present holders of monastic property of complete immunity from all ecclesiastical censures. This all-important dispensation was confirmed by Parliament, which further enacted that all suits concerning these lands should be heard in the Queen's, and not in the ecclesiastical, courts, and that any attempt to disturb the possessors by virtue of any ecclesiastical jurisdiction would involve the penalty of a Praemunire. This provision was embodied in the great Act of Repeal passed during this session, which enumerated and repealed all Acts " made since the twentieth year of the reign of Henry VIII against the supreme authority of the Pope's Holiness."[1]

On the petition of the Lower House of Convocation the heresy laws were also revived by the re-enactment of the three statutes of Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V against the Lollards.

Thus Mary had obtained from a compliant Parliament the fulness of her desire; the entire work of Henry's " Reformation Parliament " had been swept aside, Papal supremacy fully restored, and every facility provided for the fearful storm of persecution which was about to burst forth over the country. With the revival of the heresy laws the Reformers were completely at the mercy of their enemies, and although it would be a mistake to suppose that this sudden reaction was due to a genuine universal change of opinion in favour of Rome, yet the majority of those who still secretly detested Papal

[1] Gee and Hardy, pp. 393-409.

domination were willing for the time to sacrifice their convictions to the idea of national unity and absolute obedience to the will of the Sovereign. The laity sheltered themselves under the plea that it was for the clergy to determine matters of faith, and that they themselves were absolved from personal responsibility in obeying the commands of the Sovereign, because, in the language of a contemporary, "the prince doth challenge to herself all duties that appertaineth to man, before kin, before friends, or any other, whatsoever they be, and the absolute authority of the prince is from the Word of God, which cannot be dispensed with."[1]

The Persecutions

Although it is somewhat of an unprofitable and invidious task to attempt to apportion the blame for the horrible tragedy of the next four years, there is abundant evidence to prove that the chief responsibility must rest with the unhappy Queen, who was apparently convinced that the salvation of her soul and the prosperity of her kingdom depended on a thorough extirpation of heresy. Each fresh disappointment or calamity—the failure of her fond hopes for a male heir, the heartless treatment of her husband, the loss of Calais—only stimulated this misguided and unfortunate bigot to fresh endeavours to reduce all her subjects to the "unity of the Catholic Church." Even Philip, although by nature more cruel and fanatical than his wife, appears at times to have counselled moderation in the treatment of "heretics." There is also good reason to believe that Gardiner's participation in the persecution was due rather to royal

[1] Quoted in Pollard, *History of England*, p. 132.

pressure than personal inclination, while the humane and cultured Pole, although he regarded the Papal supremacy as the only safeguard of the Faith, and approved in theory of capital punishment for heresy,[1] professed himself an enemy to extreme measures in England. Mary, on the other hand, openly and deliberately advocated this policy. "Touching the punishment of heretics," she informed the Council, ". . . that the people might well perceive them not to be condemned without just occasion, within London I would wish none to be burnt without some of the Council's presence, and both there and everywhere good sermons at the same time."[2] There is little doubt therefore, that the pious but fanatical Queen, on whose name posterity has bestowed such an unpleasant prefix, was the real author of the fires of martyrdom which excited such universal horror, and sounded the death-knell of Roman Catholicism in England.[3]

It should be carefully borne in mind that these Marian martyrs were condemned for heresy, and not for treason or disloyalty to the Government, of which scarcely any of them were guilty, and that the chief point in their "heresy" was the denial of the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Although they were required to accept the supremacy of the Pope, a glance at their

[1] Pole's *Epistles* (liii to Card. Augustano) by Quirini, pt. iv, p. 156 (1752).

[2] Collier, *Church History*, vol. vi, p. 85 (1840); Burnet, vol. iv, p. 349, *Records*, No. 22.

[3] A lady wrote telling Bonner that "this cruel burning of true Christian men hath given a greater shake towards the overthrowing of your papistical kingdom than you shall be able to recover again these seven years."—Foxe, vol. vii, p. 713.

trials will show that *it was their views on the Eucharist which was the main point at issue.*

An appeal of the preachers, who had been detained in prison in London without trial, that they might have the opportunity of proving that they were "neither heretics nor cut off from the true Catholic universal Church of Christ, and that the doctrine set forth by Edward VI was the true doctrine of Christ's Catholic Church,"[1] precipitated the reign of terror.

John Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's, who was the first to seal his faith with his blood, was examined before Gardiner, who exhorted him to accept the supremacy of the Pope. Rogers pertinently replied that it was Gardiner and the other bishops who had "brought him to the knowledge of the pretended primacy of the Bishop of Rome when he was a young man," and now they wished him to believe the contrary.[2] As he refused also to believe in the corporal presence of Christ in the Sacrament, he was condemned to be burned. His request to have a last interview with his wife and children before his execution was most inhumanly refused by Bishop Bonner, and he suffered with great constancy at Smithfield on February 4, 1555.[3]

Others soon followed. Laurence Saunders,[4] a London rector, was burned at Coventry on February 8th.

[1] *Writings of Bradford*, p. 404.

[2] Foxe, vol. vi, p. 594.

[3] The French Ambassador, de Noailles, declared that he met his death "as if he were being led to his marriage." *Ambassade de Noailles*, vol. iv, p. 173 (1763).

[4] Bonner actually told Saunders that "all were heretics who did teach and believe that the administration of the Sacraments and all orders of the Church are most pure which do come most nigh to the order of the primitive Church."—Foxe, vol. vi, p. 615.

Bishop Hooper, in his own diocese of Gloucester, endured for three-quarters of an hour the horrible torture of a slow fire fed by green wood ;[1] Dr. Rowland Taylor cheerfully suffered amongst his own flock at Hadleigh, in Suffolk. When within two miles of his terrible goal, he became quite joyous and replied to the Sheriff, "Now I know I am almost at home. I lack not past two stiles to go over, and I am even at my Father's house." On March 30th Ferrar, who had been deprived of the bishopric of St. David's was burned at Carmarthen, enduring the torments of the fire without the least sign of shrinking, as a pre-arranged test of the truth of his doctrines.[2]

The Government, anticipating that a few examples of severity would have reduced the "heretics" to submission, were amazed, and for a time alarmed, at the perseverance and fortitude of the Reformers. For, as a Romanist historian admits, "an equal constancy was displayed by all ; and though pardon was offered them at the last moment, they scorned to purchase the continuance of life by feigning an assent to doctrines which they did not believe."[3]

The persecutions, however, continued, although it would appear that many of the bishops were already sickening of the ghastly business,[4] as on May 24 a

[1] Hooper had throughout showed the greatest fearlessness and constancy. He wrote to Bullinger in December, 1554 : "They are daily threatening us with death which we are quite indifferent about, in Christ Jesus we boldly despise the sword and the flames."—*Original Letters xlviii*, vol. i, p. 105.

[2] Foxe, vol. vi, p. 697 and vol. vii, p. 26.

[3] Lingard, *Hist. of England*, vol. v, p. 230.

[4] Bishop Pates of Worcester is reported to have told a Protestant physician that he need not fear for his opinions because "he was resolved not to injure or punish anyone on account of the faith, which does not propagate itself by force and terror, but by the

peremptory letter was issued by the King and Queen to Bonner and the other Bishops, marvelling that some of the heretics had not been "proceeded with according to the order of justice," and admonishing them to be more zealous in future in executing the law.[1]

Their Severity

And so the barbarous crusade was relentlessly waged for the next three and a half years. Neither age nor sex was regarded, men and women, belonging mostly to the humbler and illiterate classes, being condemned to the flames, often in batches, for their steadfast adherence to the simple truths they had learned from the Scriptures in their mother tongue. So fierce and vindictive was the spirit displayed that even the churches in which "heretics" had been peacefully buried were regarded as polluted. At Cambridge the bodies of Bucer and Fagius were torn from their resting-places and burned, while the body of Peter Martyr's wife at Oxford was dug up and cast on a dunghill. The remains of a London thief were, after a judicial inquiry, disinterred and burned, because it was discovered that he had prayed at his execution for deliverance "from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities."

Their Partiality

Happily the evidence proves that this furious persecution was confined to certain districts, and that the North and West of England almost entirely escaped. Thus, in the dioceses of Durham and Lincoln there

influence and persuasions of reason."—Godwin, *Praesulibus Angliae*, pp. 470-1 (1743).

[1] Foxe, vol. vii, p. 87, and see Dixon, vol. iv, p. 363.

were no sufferers. Bernard Gilpin, renowned for his piety and zeal, pursued his apostolic ministry without interruption under the generous protection of his great uncle, Bishop Tunstall. By far the largest number of martyrdoms occurred in the diocese of London, as Bonner, whom one historian asserts "distinguished himself by a fury unbecoming, not only a clergyman and a Christian, but even a cannibal."[1] seems to have been specially active in the suppression of "heresy." No less than one hundred and twenty-eight executions are recorded in this diocese, and altogether the number[2] of those who laid down their lives in defence of the Reformed Faith was little short of three hundred. Even a Roman Catholic historian, after making every conceivable deduction, admits that "in the space of four years, almost two hundred persons perished in the flames for religious opinions, a number at the contemplation of which the mind is struck with horror."[3]

Ridley and Latimer Burned

The case of the three most notable of the Reformers deserves particular mention. Pole issued a special commission in September to try Ridley and Latimer at Oxford, but they both steadily adhered to their former opinions. "In the Sacrament there is a certain change," said Ridley, "in that bread, which was before common bread, is now made a lively presentation

[1] Rapin, bk. xvi, p. 58.

[2] Cf. Strype, *Cranmer*, Appendix lxxxiv.

[3] Lingard, vol. v, p. 230. Foxe places the number at 284, and although he wrote as a zealous Protestant partisan, and was inclined to accept statements on insufficient evidence, yet his numerous modern critics have failed to overthrow the substantial accuracy of his story.

of Christ's body, and not only a figure, but effectuously representeth His body." "Christ," said Latimer, "made one oblation and sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, and that a perfect sacrifice; neither needeth there to be any other, neither can there be any other propitiatory sacrifice." "I confess," he said, "there is a Catholic Church, to the determination of which I will stand; but not the Church which you call Catholic, which sooner might be termed diabolic. . . . It is one thing to say Romish Church, and another thing to say Catholic Church." They were both condemned as obstinate heretics, and degraded; Bishop Brooks declaring that Ridley opposed his own "singular conceit to the judgment of the Catholic Church." "Latimer," he said, "leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley to the singularity of his own wit."[1] On October 16, 1555, both the Bishops were led out to execution "in the ditch over against Balliol College." Latimer, whose sufferings were soon over, encouraged Ridley with the memorable and prophetic words, "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England as, I trust, shall never be put out," but Ridley endured fearful agony, the fire for a long time reaching his legs only.

Cranmer's trial began on September 12, and he was charged with adultery for having married, and perjury for breaking his oath to the Pope, as well as with heresy on the Eucharist. As he had received the pall from Rome, he was remanded till the Pope should try his cause and pronounce sentence against him.

[1] Foxe, vol. vii, pp. 518-47.

Meanwhile he appealed for the intervention of the Queen, boldly pointing out his inability to accept the Papal Supremacy because the Pope by his false doctrines and claims "played the part of Anti-Christ, Christ's enemy and adversary."[1] Pole replied to this appeal in a long letter charging Cranmer with fraud, dissimulation, and perjury, in making oath to the Pope at his consecration.[2]

On February 14, 1556, the Pope's sentence having been received, Cranmer was publicly degraded, Bonner most uncharitably exulting over his humiliation.

It was now that Cranmer's courage and constancy gave way, and the sad story of the terrible fall, which has left an indelible stain on his character, has to be recorded. Realising the triumph to their cause if the great champion of the Reformed party could be led to disavow his convictions, his adversaries used every artifice to persuade the fallen Archbishop to abjure his "heresy." He was liberated from the unhealthy prison in which he had been so long confined, treated with special kindness, and given much freedom in the comfortable lodgings of the Dean of Christ Church; a change which must have specially influenced a man of his gentle and sensitive disposition. He had already been plied with the arguments of two Spanish friars, and induced to sign four successive "submissions," largely equivocal and amounting to little more than a promise of extravagant obedience to lawful authority, a logical construction of his theory of the divine right of kings. But under the influence of his changed surroundings and enticed by hopes of

[1] Works, vol. ii, pp. 447-54.
[2] Strype, *Cranmer*, Appendix lxxxix.

pardon, and even restoration to his former dignities,[1] he signed an absolute recantation, in which he acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope, declared his belief in Transubstantiation, and anathematised the "whole heresy of Zwingle and Luther." Copies of this were soon circulated, but even this humiliating renunciation was not considered sufficiently abject, and he was required to sign another document, composed probably by Cardinal Pole, vilifying himself and all his past actions as the sole cause of his recent schism, and declaring himself to have been a "blasphemer, insulter, and persecutor" of Christ and the Church; "a confession," it has been well observed, "more shameful to those who dictated it than to the heart-broken captive who signed it."[2]

Cranmer's Martyrdom

The Queen, however, had no intention of sparing Cranmer's life in spite of his repentance, and thus, on March 21, he was taken to St. Mary's to declare publicly his reconciliation before his execution. The fallen Primate, whom an eye-witness described as an "image of sorrow," earnestly exhorted the people to love God, to obey the King and Queen, to live charitably as brethren, and be liberal to the poor. After reciting his faith, to the surprise and consternation of his audience he continued: "Now I come to the great thing that troubleth my conscience more than any other thing that I ever said or did in my life, that is, the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth, which here now I renounce and refuse as things written with my hand contrary to the truth

[1] Strype, *Cranmer*, vol. ii, p. 119.
[2] Pollard, *Cranmer*, p. 374.

which I thought in my heart, and writ for fear of death and to save my life if it might be ; and that is all such bills which I have signed with mine own hand since my degradation. . . . As for the Pope, I refuse him as Christ's enemy and Antichrist, with all his false doctrine." He was immediately hurried to the stake, and as a sign that this unexpected retractation was final, " he stretched out his right hand and thrust it into the flame . . . crying with a loud voice, ' This hand hath offended.' As soon as the fire got up, he was very soon dead, never stirring or crying the whole while."[1]

However much we may deplore his fatal weakness in the hour of trial, yet as we review his life as a whole and the great and enduring work he accomplished for the English Church, we cannot but agree with a modern verdict that " his merits and services were greater than his faults. . . . He preserved the continuity of the Church of England. He gave to the English Reformation largeness and capacity. . . . He was a greater man than any of his contemporaries. His death completed the circle of five men of episcopal degree, who loosed the yoke of Rome from the neck of the Church of England by the sacrifice of their lives, a glorious crown of bishops, the like of which is set upon the brow of no other Church in Christendom."[2] Gardiner, Cranmer's great antagonist, had died in the previous November, and if he did not openly disapprove, at least, for the last few months of his life, he took no share in the condemnation of the Reformers. Pole, who succeeded Cranmer in the

[1] The account of a Romanist eye-witness quoted in Strype, *Cranmer*, p. 128.

[2] Dixon, vol. iv, p. 552.

Primacy, although from his tolerant disposition averse from extreme measures in practice, yet did nothing to prevent his subordinates from fiercely persecuting the "heretics" in his own diocese, and towards the end of his life even incited them to greater efforts.[1]

The disappointment regarding her expected issue seemed to the superstitious Queen only a further incentive for greater zeal against the "Gospellers," as the Reformers were usually styled, as she is reported to have declared "that nothing could succeed prosperously with her unless all the heretics in prison were burnt, not sparing one."[2] The debasing system of spies and secret informers was employed to hunt out the Reformers, and in February 1557, as the justices were apparently sickened with this hateful work, a certain number of clergy and laity were specially commissioned for this purpose.[3] In the last year of her reign Mary carried her morbid fanaticism to such lengths that she refused to allow anyone to pray for a sufferer at the stake, and actually imprisoned a sheriff for presuming to delay the execution of a heretic because he had recanted. As a celebrated Romanist historian frankly admits, "the foulest blot on Mary's character is her long and cruel persecution of the Reformers."[4]

Death of Mary

On November 17, 1558, the death of this virtuous but misguided, generous[5] but unhappy Queen brought

[1] Collier, vol. vi, p. 181.
[2] Strype, *Cranmer*, vol. ii, p. 97.
[3] Burnet, vol. v, p. 371.
[4] Lingard, vol. v, p. 259.
[5] Mary voluntarily surrendered to the Church the first-fruits and tenths acquired by Henry VIII, an estimated annual revenue of £60,000.

the long period of horrible cruelty and unmerited suffering to a close amidst general rejoicing; for, as the French Ambassador declared, "she lived almost alone, employing all her time in tears, lamentations, and regrets, in writing to try to draw back her husband to her and in fury against her subjects."[1] Pole, who had served her so faithfully, and whom she had boldly protected against the wrath of the Pope, refusing to execute the Papal bull for his recall,[2] died within twenty-four hours of his royal mistress.[3] A fever which was then raging also carried off about the same time as many as thirteen of the bishops and numbers of the clergy, thus making the way smoother for the restoration of the Reformed religion, which Mary's futile persecuting policy had not only vindicated but even strengthened.

[1] De Noailles, *Ambassade en Angleterre*, vol. v, pp. 362-70.
[2] Collier, vol. vi, p. 160.
[3] The French ambassador's comment is that "piety and the true religion expired in England at the same time."—*Ambassade en Angleterre*, vol. i, p. 336.

CHAPTER XII

THE CONTINENTAL EXILES

BEFORE proceeding to narrate the final settlement of the Reformed religion under Elizabeth, it is important to consider briefly the fortunes of those English exiles who had managed to escape from the impending persecution by flight to the Continent. These comprised a large and influential number both of clergy and laity who had fled to Germany, Switzerland, and the Low Countries. Because they rejected the theory of Consubstantiation the Lutherans were generally most unfriendly to them, but Melancthon interceded for them with the magistrates both at Wesel and Frankfort and both there and at Strasburg, Emden, Basle, Zurich and Geneva the English exiles were most generously received. Jewel, who had managed to escape from England, assisted Peter Martyr in his theological studies both at Strasburg and Zurich. John Foxe was occupied at Basle in compiling his famous *Acts and Monuments;* while quite a number of the Reformers were engaged at Geneva in translating what afterwards was known as the "Geneva Bible," under the supervision of Calvin and Beza.

It was at Frankfort, however, that the serious dissensions occurred, which were destined to have such a sinister influence on the later history of the Reformed Church.

The Troubles at Frankfort

A congregation of French Protestants, expelled from London, arrived there in April 1554, and were granted the use of a church for worship. They were joined in June by a company of English refugees mostly composed of "Puritan" Reformers, including Whittinghame (afterwards Dean of Durham). The magistrates allowed these newcomers the alternate use of the church granted to the French, on the condition that they would agree with the latter in doctrine and ceremonies, and all subscribe to a confession of faith already drawn up by the French. The English, however, obtained permission to settle their own order of service, provided their ceremonies were not repugnant to the French, and accordingly they elected to use the Second Prayer Book of King Edward, after making very considerable alterations in it. The Litany and congregational responses were to be discontinued, the surplice proscribed, and no provision allowed for the public reading of Holy Scripture. A cordial invitation was then extended to the exiles in Strasburg, Zurich, and other places to unite with them in this church at Frankfort. The exiles at Strasburg and Zurich, however, refused to join them unless they promised strict adherence to the English Liturgy, for the defence of which the "chief authors" were then laying down their lives in England. But the Frankfort congregation declined to accept these conditions, declaring that the Second Prayer Book contained many "unprofitable ceremonies," and asserting that the compilers had intended to make further alterations if opportunity had been given them.[1]

[1] Whittinghame, *Troubles at Frankfort*, p. 37 (Arber's edition).

Whittinghame and John Knox (who had been invited to become a minister of the Frankfort congregation) then appealed to Calvin concerning the Prayer Book. Calvin, although refusing to condemn it as unlawful, admitted that he saw in it "many tolerable foolish things," and that there was not "that purity which was to be desired," as many things "ought to have been corrected" and many "clean taken away."[1] A compromise was then effected by drawing up an order of service taken partly from the Prayer Book and partly from a liturgy of Calvin.

In the following March, however, Dr. Cox, who had been King Edward's tutor, arrived with a party of English exiles strongly in favour of the English liturgy, who soon caused great dissensions by insisting on repeating the responses aloud after the minister and even publicly reading the Litany, declaring "that their Church should have an English face."[2] As they declined to sign the Discipline, the congregation at first refused to admit them to membership; but they were at length received at the special intercession of Knox, with the result that they out-voted the "Puritan" party and dismissed Knox from his post as minister. The defeated minority then appealed to the magistrate, who ordered the congregation to conform to the French discipline. Upon this the Prayer Book party accused Knox of treason, informing the magistrates of a book he had written violently assailing the Emperor and Queen Mary. The magistrates, in alarm, ordered Knox to leave the city, and Cox and his party soon obtained permission to use the English liturgy, the Puritans, including Knox, Whittinghame,

[1] *Ibid*, p. 51. [2] *Ibid*, p. 62.

and Foxe departing to Basle and Geneva, where they were granted the use of a church of their own.

The Appeal to Calvin

The Frankfort congregation then wrote, giving Calvin an account of these proceedings, and explaining their attitude regarding the Prayer Book controversy. They assure him that they have not acted hastily, with a desire "unduly to undervalue his authority, which both is and ought to be most highly esteemed and regarded, not only by themselves, but by the world at large." They fear that the "Puritans" had misrepresented them to him, as they had "freely relinquished all those ceremonies which their brethren regarded as offensive." "For we gave up," they say, "Private Baptisms, Confirmation of Children, Saints' Days, Kneeling at the Holy Communion, the Linen Surplice of the Ministers, and other things of the like character, not as being impure and papistical . . . but because they were in their own nature indifferent . . . and we chose rather to lay them aside than to alienate the affections of the brethren."[1]

To this letter, signed by Cox, Sandys, Grindal, Horn, and Sampson, men destined to be the leaders of the Elizabethan Church, Calvin replied that as he had advised their opponents to yield somewhat, he had been offended that they had refused to grant anything, but was very glad they were now "more mild and tractable." He censures them, however, for wishing to retain "dregs of superstition" and also for their "unbrotherly" treatment of Knox.[2]

The Frankfort party in reply regret that their letter

[1] *Original Letters*, pp. 753-5.
[2] *Troubles at Frankfort*, p. 79.

had not altogether removed Calvin's scruples, but declare that this was owing to the wilful misrepresentations of the Puritan party. "You object to us 'Lights and Crosses.' As for Lights, we never had any and with respect to Crosses, if we ever made use of them these friends of yours have not imposed on you." "Our ceremonies," they continue, "are very few, and all of them of no little use towards the advancement of godliness. But it is no wonder that our ceremonies appear redundant, and even burdensome, to those persons who exclaim against the public reading of the Word of God as an irksome and unprofitable form."[1]

Unfortunately further strife broke out amongst the congregation that remained at Frankfort, over the question of Church discipline. Horn and Chambers, who had been elected as ministers, refused to render an account of the alms for the relief of the poorer members, of which they possessed the sole control; and unedifying disputes continued till the congregation returned to England on the death of Mary.

But, in spite of these dissensions, the English exiles continued to maintain the closest fellowship and affection for their brethren of the foreign Reformed Churches, by whom they were being so hospitably treated, and with whom, after their return home, they kept up a close correspondence.

Close Fellowship with Foreign Reformers

Thus, on the accession of Elizabeth, when the English Church at Geneva, composed mainly of "Puritan" Reformers, sent a general invitation to the other exiles to confer with them how they "might together reach

[1] *Original Letters*, pp. 755-64.

and practise the true knowledge of God's Word, which we have learned in this our banishment, and by God's merciful Providence seen in the best Reformed Churches,"[1] the Frankfort congregation replied that "they purposed to submit themselves to such orders as shall be established by authority, being not of themselves wicked." "For," they added, "whereas all the Reformed Churches differ among themselves in divers ceremonies, and yet agree in the unity of doctrine, we see no inconvenience if we use some ceremonies diverse from them, so that we agree in the chief points of our religion."[2]

Bishop Jewel, who earnestly strove to persuade Peter Martyr to return to his post of divinity lecturer at Oxford, wrote telling him that now the "full light of the Gospel had shone forth" in England, "for as to matters of doctrine we have pared everything away to the very quick, and do not differ from your doctrine by a nail's breadth, for as to the ubiquitarian theory there is no danger in this country."[3] Peter Martyr, in reply, congratulated Jewel on the production of his famous *Apology*, which he said had also "appeared to Bullinger, Gualter, and Wolfius so wise,

[1] *Troubles at Frankfort*, p. 224.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 225-6. Although practically all the Anglican Reformers strongly opposed the Lutheran teaching of Consubstantiation, Elizabeth made a definite attempt to prevent any disagreement on this one point from interfering with the general harmony which should exist between all the Protestant Churches. Hearing of a Synod which the German Protestant princes had decided to hold in Magdeburg in October, 1577, she wrote pressing for an invitation to join in it on the ground that there should be unity amongst the "Christian princes who profess the Gospel against the errors and heresies of the Pope," even "though there be some slight discrepancy in the nature of our teaching," which "not being great may be adjusted with time," since "in the substance of the faith and truth of things we do not differ."—(*Addenda to State Papers*).

[3] *Zurich Letters*, p. 100.

admirable, and eloquent that they think nothing in these days hath been set forth more perfectly."[1]

Bishop Horn also, in writing to Bullinger, says, "We have throughout England the same ecclesiastical doctrine as yourselves," and informs him that a "certain Englishman" is preparing a treatise against the Ubiquitarian (Lutheran) theory of the Sacrament, "that it may be manifest to everyone that the people of England entertain on these points the same opinions as you do at Zurich."[2] Beza informed Grindal that he knew no orthodox Frenchman who would not as heartily subscribe the English Confession of Faith as their own.[3]

It should not be forgotten that both Beza and Calvin expressly acknowledged the lawfulness of episcopal government where it could be had without sin. Beza declared people to be insane to reject every order of episcopacy, and he told Archbishop Whitgift that "he never intended to condemn the government of the English Church, but the anti-Christian tyranny of the Roman bishops."[4] Calvin also declared "that the ancient bishops did go about to desire no other form of governing the Church than that which God hath prescribed in His Word."[5]

It is also interesting to notice that the same spirit

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 339.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 135. In 1586, amongst the "articles agreed on by the bishops" of Canterbury Convocation "for the increase of learning in inferior ministers," was an order that every beneficed clergyman under the degree of Master of Arts, and not licensed as a public preacher, should provide himself with a copy of Bullinger's *Decades* (or sermons on the chief points of the Christian religion), and read over one sermon each week, noting the chief matters in a paper book, which was to be shown to some preacher each quarter.—Bullinger's *Decades*, vol. v, p. xxix.

[3] Bingham's Works, vol. viii, p. 32 (1829).

[4] Strype's *Whitgift*, bk. iv, ch. 7.

[5] Institutes: bk. iv, sect. 3-4, ch. 4.

Bishop Lancelot Andrewes

From the portrait at Jesus College, Oxford

By permission of the Principal and Fellows.

of unity and fellowship was displayed by the succeeding generations of English churchmen. In 1581 a "Harmony" of the Confessions of Faith of all the Reformed Churches, including the Church of England, was compiled by the Churches of Zurich and Geneva, and Bishop Andrewes, in writing against Bellarmine, appeals to this to prove "that we hold one faith, as the Harmony of our Confession shows."[1] Rogers, Archbishop Bancroft's chaplain, published his learned treatise[2] on the *Articles* in 1607 with the express object of proving them "to be agreeable both to the written Word of God and to the extant Confessions of all neighbour Churches, christianly reformed"; while about the same time Peter du Moulin, in defending the French Confession, says, "Our adversaries, under pretence that the Church of England hath another form of discipline than ours is, charge us that our religion is diverse, but experience confuteth this accusation, for we assemble with the English in their churches, we participate together in the holy supper of our Lord; the doctrine of their Confession is wholly agreeable to ours. We condemn not the episcopal order in itself, but speak only of the corruption which the Church of Rome has induced into it."[3] Representatives of the English Church assisted the foreign Reformed divines in condemning the Arminian "heresies" at the Synod of Dort in 1618, and until the Restoration ministers of the foreign Reformed Churches were admitted to English benefices, although they had never received episcopal ordination.[4]

[1] Andrewes' Works, *Responsio ad Bellarminum*, p. 36.

[2] Entitled *The Catholic Doctrine of the Church of England.*

[3] Quoted in Bingham's Works, vol. viii, p. 32.

[4] Cosin's Works, vol. iv, pp. 403 and 449. An Act of 13 Eliz. cap. xii, required clergy ordained by any "other form of institution, consecration, or ordering" than that used in England simply to

With regard to this latter defect Bishop Andrewes asserted "that though episcopal government be of divine institution yet it is not so absolutely necessary, as that there can be no Church, nor sacraments, nor salvation without it. He is blind that sees not many Churches flourishing without it";[1] while Bishop Hall declared, "Blessed be God, there is no difference in any *essential* matter between the Church of England and her sisters of the Reformation. We accord in every point of Christian doctrine without the least variation. *The only difference is in the form of outward administration,* wherein also we are so far agreed as that we all profess this form not to be essential to the being of a Church, though much importing the well or better being of it."[2]

Bishop Cosin declared in his Will that in spite of distance or "the dissensions of men," "he, in his soul, mind and affection, always united and held communion especially with those Protestant and well reformed Churches which held the Catholic Faith and worshipped the Trinity."[3]

As late as 1719 Archbishop Wake wrote to Mr. Le Clerc that "he willingly embraced the Reformed Churches, though he could have wished that they had retained the episcopal form of government." But he

subscribe their assent to the Articles of Religion before exercising their ministry.—Prothero, *Statutes and Const. Docts.*, p. 64 (1894). In 1582, Archbishop Grindal, in licensing a Scotch Presbyterian divine "to celebrate the divine offices and minister the Sacraments throughout the whole province of Canterbury," declared him to have been ordained "according to the laudable form and rite of the Reformed Church of Scotland."—Strype, *Life of Grindal*, p. 402 (1821).

[1] *Responsio ad 2 Epistl. Molinaei.*

[2] Works, vol. v, p. 56 (1811).

[3] Works, vol. iv, p. 523.

was " far from being so iron-hearted as to believe that on account of such a defect any of them ought to be cut off from our Communion, or with certain mad writers among us to declare that they have no true and valid Sacraments, and thus are scarcely Christians."[1]

[1] Mosheim, *Ecclesiastical History* (Maclaine), vol. v, 169, Letter xix. (1768).

CHAPTER XIII

THE ELIZABETHAN SETTLEMENT

In her personal character Elizabeth was a marked contrast to her sister. Mary was a morbid, religious fanatic, Elizabeth was lively and imbued with the tolerant spirit of the Renaissance. Mary pined for the affection of her husband and the gift of a child, while Elizabeth's ambition was " to die a virgin " and to be married to her people. Both, indeed, shared the proud and imperious spirit of the Tudors, but it has been well said that Elizabeth's life " was the life of a man, not of a woman. . . . With her amazing energy, her want of all sympathy with weakness, her fierce wilfulness and self-assertion and a certain coarseness of fibre, it was inevitable that she should be unfeminine."[1]

Elizabeth's Difficult Position

It is important, in estimating the tortuous pathway she invariably pursued, to bear in mind the extremely critical position with which she was confronted, which necessarily influenced her ecclesiastical as well as her political policy. She possessed a doubtful title to the throne. The Romanists regarded her as illegitimate, and desired to substitute for her Mary, Queen of Scots, whose claim to the English Crown was actively supported by France. The Papal Church, which had been revivified by the reforms of the Council of Trent and

[1] *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xvii, p. 231.

QUEEN ELIZABETH

From the portrait at Ditchley

the zeal of the newly-formed "Society of Jesus," possessed its most fanatical champion in Philip of Spain, whose power and resources seemed boundless, and who was not likely to lose any opportunity of regaining for his Faith a kingdom which he had lost through the death of Mary and the refusal of Elizabeth to accept his offer of marriage.[1] Besides the danger from abroad, Elizabeth was faced at home with a depleted treasury, a debased coinage, a languishing commerce, and a serious religious problem which might at any time involve the country in civil war.

Elizabeth is reported to have made answer to Mary's death-bed request that she would make no change in religion, "I promise thus much, that I will not change it, provided only it can be proved by the Word of God, which shall be the only foundation and rule of my religion."[2]

By birth, education, and circumstances Elizabeth was naturally averse from the Romish religion, and thus the Reformers hailed her accession with joy as a signal that their persecution and sufferings were at an end.

The extremely complicated nature of her political necessities compelled her, however, to proceed cautiously in regard to religious changes, as she fully realised the need of preserving a united front against the dangers from abroad. Thus although those who were in prison for religion were released no immediate changes were made. The old councillors were retained,

[1] For a clear account of the moderate and careful diplomatic policy pursued by Philip II and Pope Paul IV in the opening months of this reign in order to win over Elizabeth to the Roman obedience, see G. S. Bayne, *Oxford Hist. and Literary Studies*, vol. ii, ch. 1 (1913).

[2] *Zurich Letters*, p. 4.

although eight more of decided Protestant leanings were added, the most important of whom was the Queen's secretary, Sir William Cecil, described by a contemporary as "most sound in religion and most discreet in the government of the state."[1] The bishops were received graciously, with the exception of Bonner, whom Elizabeth regarded with horror, but even he was left in undisturbed possession of his see. Elizabeth continued to attend mass, although she ordered Bishop Oglethorpe (the only bishop whom she could persuade to perform the coronation ceremony) not to elevate the Host, an order which he had sufficient courage to disobey.[2]

Revision of the Prayer Book

It was not altogether unnatural that the more zealous Protestants, freed at length from a galling persecution, should commence to anticipate events by destroying images and superstitious relics, and restoring the Reformed worship. Consequently Elizabeth issued proclamations forbidding for the present all innovations, and all preaching, except under special royal licence; at the same time permitting the Litany, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Gospels to be read in English.[3] A "Device for the Alteration of Religion"[4] had been anonymously[5] drawn up and presented to Sir W. Cecil, suggesting that a committee of prominent divines[6] should be

[1] *Zurich Letters*, vol. ii, p. 66.

[2] In consequence of this refusal Elizabeth left the Church after the reading of the Gospel.

[3] Gee and Hardy, p. 416.

[4] See Burnet, vol. iv, p. 390, and Strype, *Annals*, vol. i, Appendix No. iv (1725).

[5] Probably by Sir T. Smith.

[6] The names suggested were Parker, Pilkington, Cox, Grindal, May, Bill, Whitehead, and Sir T. Smith.

formed to consult concerning a common service book, to be presented for the approval of the Queen and Parliament. There appears to be no conclusive proof that such a committee actually met, although it has been conjectured from a paper of explanations, vindicating the "new service," sent by Guest[1] to Cecil,[2] that the former had been invited to assist the other members in the task of revising the service books, and "in comparing both King Edward's communion books."[3]

It also seems probable from the defence offered by Guest in these "explanations," that a suggestion had been made[4] of restoring King Edward's First Prayer Book, as he informed Cecil that ceremonies once taken away as abused ought not to be restored, that images, including the crucifix, were condemned by Scripture, that processions were superfluous, that as a surplice was sufficient "in baptizing, reading, preaching, and praying, it is enough also for celebrating the Communion; for if we should use another garment herein, it should seem to teach us, that higher and better things be given by it than be given by the other service; which we must not believe"; that "in ye worde (i.e., reading and preaching) we eate and drynke Christ"; that non-communicating attendance was contrary to ancient custom, that prayer for the dead was unprimitive, and that as the old custom of the Church was to communicate standing, it is left optional for people

[1] Afterwards Bishop of Rochester.

[2] i.e., before March 24th, 1560, since Cecil declares they were "done by my Lord of Rochester, before he was bishop." *Synodalia*, C.C.C. Library, Camb.

[3] Strype, *Annals*, vol. i, p. 82.

[4] Collier conjectures (but without any evidence) either by Cecil or by the Queen.—*Ecclesiastical History*, vol. vi, p. 249.

to receive either standing or kneeling.[1] The work of revision, however, even if undertaken by a committee, could not have been very extensive, as the bill presented to Parliament in the following April (1559) re-established King Edward's Second Prayer Book with only three small alterations.

Westminster Disputation

It had not been possible to submit the matter to Convocation,[2] as the members were still so resolutely determined to maintain Mary's position that the Lower House boldly passed a series of articles, unanimously reaffirming their belief in Transubstantiation, the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass, the supreme authority of the Pope, and the exclusive right of the hierarchy to determine matters of faith and discipline.[3] This determined attitude led to a formal disputation being held in Westminster Abbey, in which nine champions of the Romanist, and nine of the Protestant party hotly debated the three burning questions as to the propriety of conducting the services in an unknown tongue, the authority of "particular"[4] churches to

[1] Strype, *Annals*, vol. i, Appendix xiv, pp. 38-41, and Cardwell, *History of Conferences*, p. 51 (1840).

[2] As Mary had abolished the Second Prayer Book by Act of Parliament alone, so Elizabeth restored it by the same means.

[3] Fuller, *Church Hist.*, bk. ix, sect. 1, p. 10. They declared "that an authority for debating and settling those things which belong to the faith, the sacraments and the discipline of the Church, is a privilege which always has belonged and ought to belong to the hierarchy, and not to the laity."—Collier, *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. vi, pp. 206-7.

[4] They explain "particular" to mean "of a particular kingdom, province or region." It was in consequence of the denial of this right by the Papists that an additional clause was inserted in Article xxxiii of 1563, affirming the authority of particular or National churches to institute, change or abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church.

ordain or change rites and ceremonies, and the unscripturalness of the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass.[1] The discussion only tended to increase the ill-feeling between the rival parties, and it was broken off in anger owing to the Romanists refusing to adhere to the preliminary arrangement, in consequence of which two of their bishops were imprisoned for contumacy.

Act of Supremacy

The Parliament which met on January 25th, 1559, was opened with a moderate and conciliatory speech from Lord Keeper Bacon. After Elizabeth's title to the throne had been confirmed, the Commons proceeded to deal with the "Supremacy Bill." By this Act, which was finally[2] passed on April 29th, after much opposition in the Lords,[3] the great bulwark of Elizabeth's ecclesiastical settlement was established. Mary's restoration of Papal power and supremacy was repealed, and, in addition, ten of the laws passed by Henry VIII against the Roman See were revived, and the Papal power was once again abolished in the most definite and comprehensive terms. The Crown was declared to be the fountain of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and was given full powers to delegate this authority to a specially appointed body of commissioners, who were empowered "to visit, reform, and correct all heresies, errors, and schisms which by any manner of spiritual or ecclesiastical power or jurisdiction can or may lawfully be reformed or amended."[4] An oath was

[1] *Zurich Letters*, pp. 10-16.

[2] There had been attempts made in February and March to pass a combined bill for supremacy and uniformity, but these had been defeated mainly through the opposition in the "Lords" to the re-enactment of the 1552 Prayer Book.

[3] All the spiritual peers voted against it.

[4] Prothero, *ut supra*, p. 6.

appointed to be taken by holders of office in Church and State accepting the Queen as the Supreme Governor of the realm in all spiritual as well as temporal causes, and renouncing all jurisdiction or authority of foreign princes or prelates.

The persecuting statutes against heresy were repealed, and the commissioners authorised under the Act to exercise spiritual jurisdiction were only to adjudge as heresy such matters as had been decided " by the authority of the Canonical Scriptures, or by the first four General Councils, or such as should be judged to be heresy by the High Court of Parliament with the assent of the clergy in Convocation."[1]

Thus Elizabeth, in regard to the control of the Church, had practically returned to the position taken up by Henry VIII, for although she had substituted the title " Supreme Governor " for " Supreme Head," carefully explaining that she had no intention of challenging " authority and power of ministry of divine offices in the Church,"[2] yet she not only retained the right, which Henry had claimed, to be the supreme appeal in ecclesiastical causes, but by imposing Injunctions on the clergy without the consent of Convocation, and by the extensive powers exercised through her ecclesiastical commissioners, she, like Henry, advanced this claim beyond mere control and supervision to a virtual

[1] Prothero, *ut supra*, p. 12. This section was repealed in 1640, but the *Reformatio Legum*, published in 1571, after attributing great deference to General Councils, declares " to which, however, we deem that our faith is bound no otherwise than so far as they may be proved out of Holy Scripture. For it is manifest that some Councils have at times erred and have defined things contrary to one another, partly in legal acts, partly even in matters of faith."—*De summa Trinitate*, ch. 14.

[2] Gee and Hardy, p. 439.

exercise of the spiritual disciplinary powers of the Church.

Act of Uniformity

Concurrently with the settlement of the legal and political aspect of Elizabeth's reformation by the Act of Supremacy, Parliament passed an Act of Uniformity,[1] establishing its doctrinal basis. The Act nullified Mary's statute repealing King Edward's Act of Uniformity of 1552, and restored and enforced on the whole realm the exclusive use of his Second Prayer Book, " with one alteration or addition of certain lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year, and the form of Litany altered and corrected, and two sentences only added in the delivery of the Sacrament to the communicants, and none other or otherwise."[2]

The second of these alterations was probably designed as a possible means of conciliating opponents, the petition in the Litany " to be delivered from the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities," now removed, being naturally most obnoxious to the Romanists. There is, however, little or no evidence to support the contention that the combination of the sentence in the Communion services of the two Prayer Books of Edward VI would be interpreted as in the nature of a compromise between the Lutheran and the Reformed teaching on the Sacrament.[3] It is also most unlikely that the non-inclusion of the " black rubric "

[1] A separate bill for " the unity of the Service of the Church " was introduced first in Parliament on April 18th and passed the " Lords " on April 28th, receiving the Royal Assent on April 29th, 1559.

[2] Gee and Hardy, p. 459.

[3] Cf. Upton, *ut supra*, chap. v. In the Presbyterian " Directory " of 1645, the words of delivery are: " This *is* the body of Christ, which *is* broken for you."

(probably because it formed no part of the statutory Prayer Book of 1552, now re-enacted) possessed any doctrinal significance, although this may have been prompted by Guest's proposal to make the custom of standing or kneeling for the Communion optional.[1]

The ease with which the Act of Uniformity was carried in the Commons would seem to prove that the reign of terror under Mary had greatly strengthened the Protestant feeling of the laity, but the case was far different in the Lords, where the Bill was only passed by three votes, all the spiritual peers present voting against it. Bishop Scott, who boldly denied the competency of Parliament to deal with the question, very pertinently stated that the real point at issue was between "the mass book," which this Bill declared "erroneous and wicked," and the new Common Prayer, which it established "as godly and consonant to Scripture." After declaiming against the new book because it contained, as the compilers themselves "willingly acknowledged," no real consecration and no oblation of Christ, he proceeded to advance the remarkable proposition, "For if there is no external sacrifice in the New Testament, then there is no priesthood, whose office is, saith St. Paul, *to offer up gifts and sacrifices for sin*. Now, if there is no priesthood, then there is no religion under the New Testament, and if we have no religion, then we are without God in this world."[2]

The "Ornaments Rubric"

The new Prayer Book was enjoined to be used by all

[1] This proposal was apparently rejected by Parliament.—Strype, *Annals*, vol. i, p. 83, and Cardwell, *ut supra*, pp. 110-2.

[2] Strype, *Annals*, vol. i, Appendix x, pp. 27-33, and Collier, vol. vi, p. 243.

clergy on and after St. John the Baptist's Day, 1559, under penalty for the third offence of life imprisonment, and all persons neglecting to attend Divine Service on Sundays or holy days were liable to a fine of one shilling, to be applied to the use of the poor of the parish. A clause was inserted at the end of the Act which gives the origin of the famous "Ornaments Rubric," the interpretation of which has occasioned, since the rise of the "Oxford Movement" such a heated controversy. "Such ornaments of the Church and of the minister thereof," it was enacted in the thirteenth clause, "shall be retained and be in use, as was in the Church of England, by authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI, *until other order shall be taken therein* by the authority of the Queen's majesty, with the advice of her commissioners appointed and authorised, for causes ecclesiastical or of the metropolitan of this realm."[1]

Apart from the much-debated point as to when this "other order" was taken, the question is further complicated by the fact that after Parliament had passed the Bill, distinctly restoring the Prayer Book of 1552 with only three specified alterations, the rubric (of 1552)[2] stating that the minister during Divine Service should wear no vestments but the rochet or surplice was deliberately altered, ordering that "the minister at the Communion and all other times of his ministration shall use such ornaments in the church

[1] Prothero, p. 20.

[2] Its exact wording was: "The minister at the time of the Communion and at all other times in his ministration shall use neither albe, vestment nor cope, but being archbishop or bishop shall have and wear a rochet, and being a priest or deacon shall have and wear a surplice only."

as were in use by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI, according to the Act of Parliament set in the beginning of this Book." This " Note " or rubric, thus illegally inserted,[1] either by the Queen or Council, remained in the Prayer Book till the revision in 1662, when it was changed to its present form.[2]

It has been very forcibly urged that the proviso contained in this thirteenth clause was merely intended as a direction to prevent the embezzlement of the Church goods, plate, and vestments, rendered illegal by the adoption of the Prayer Book of 1552, and as authority for their " retention " until " other order " should be given for their disposal. This " other order," it is contended, was taken by the Royal Visitors in 1559, acting " by the authority of the Queen's Majesty," and as " Commissioners appointed and authorised under the Great Seal for Ecclesiastical Causes "[3] (see p. 205) who in one of their " Visitation " Articles inquire " whether the clergy have monished their parishioners openly that they should not sell, give or otherwise alienate any of their Church goods." They also ordered the destruction, utilisation for the benefit of the Church, or confiscation of all the old " ornaments " rendered illegal by the restoration of the Prayer Book and " ornaments rubric " of 1552.

Accordingly, on August 24th, Machyn records the destruction in London of " all roods and Maries and Johns . . . copes, crosses, censers, altar cloths . . .

[1] Cf. Privy Council decision in Ridsdale case.

[2] This rubric was, however, omitted in the Latin Prayer Book published in 1560.

[3] Cf. Burnet, vol. vi, pp. 417-20, *Records*, No. 7, and Collier, vol. vi, p. 262.

with much other gear "[1] while at Grantham "vestments, copes, albs, tunicles . . . were defaced and openly sold and the money employed in setting up desks and the making of a decent Communion Table."[2] Moreover, the forty-seventh of the Royal Injunctions,[3] which the Commissioners were empowered to administer, requires inventories to be delivered to the Royal Visitors of "all vestments, copes and other ornaments, plate, books, etc.,"[4] apparently with a view to their disposal for the profit or "use" of the Crown.[5] For Sandys, one of the Commissioners, writing at the time to Parker in reference to this proviso in the Act to retain the ornaments, states, that "Our gloss (or interpretation) upon this text is, that we shall not be forced to use them, but that others in the meantime shall not convey them away, but that they may remain for the Queen."[6]

The thirtieth Injunction at the same time, in conformity with the revived rubric of 1552, enjoined all the clergy to "use and wear," "both *in the church* and without," "such seemly habits, garments and square caps" as were customary in the latter year of King Edward's reign,[7] this being the year in which the Second Prayer Book, ordering the exclusive use of the surplice, was in force.

[1] *Diary*, p. 208 (1848).

[2] Cf. Gee, *Elizabethan Prayer Book*, p. 143.

[3] The clergy were required to subscribe these Injunctions as well as the Prayer Book and they were enforced throughout the reign on pain of deprivation.

[4] Gee and Hardy, p. 435.

[5] The words "in use" are, it is urged, a current legal phrase denoting "in trust." Thus a clause in the "Statute of Uses" states "Such like estates as they had or shall have '*in use*' trust or confidence in the same." *Prayer Book Dict'y.*, p. 518 (1912).

[6] *Parker Correspondence*, p. 65.

[7] Gee and Hardy, p. 432.

According to this theory, the "Advertisements" of 1566, ordering the general use of the surplice for all services, with the addition of the cope in cathedral and collegiate churches during the Communion,[1] were additional ritual regulations carried out under the authority of the latter part of Clause xiii, which directed that if any contempt or irreverence happened in the appointed ceremonies or rites, "the Queen's Majesty may by the like advice of the said Commissioners or Metropolitan, ordain and publish such further ceremonies and rites as may be most for the advancement of God's glory and the edifying of His Church."[2] In support of this view, it must be admitted that both the Queen and Archbishop Parker distinctly regarded the Injunctions as a taking of "further order," in accordance with the thirteenth clause of the Act of Uniformity.[3]

It is also exceedingly difficult to explain on any other hypothesis why "not once anywhere," from 1559 to 1566, "was the ritual of the First Prayer Book in respect of the use of ornaments followed by any one bishop, priest, or deacon."[4] This is the more striking when we remember that there must have been a large number, if not at first an actual majority, of clergy who still secretly favoured the medieval ritual and ceremonial of the un-reformed Church. There are, on the contrary, frequent references to the attempted enforcement by the bishops of the use of the surplice as the only appointed vestment according to the require-

[1] Prothero, *ut supra*, p. 193.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 20.
[3] Cf. Parker, *Correspondence*, p. 375.
[4] Tomlinson, *Prayer Book, Articles and Homilies*, p. 197, and cf. Upton, *ut supra*, chap. x.

ments of the Act of Uniformity and the Queen's Injunctions.[1]

On the other hand, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the supreme court of appeal in ecclesiastical causes, has decided[2] that "other order," according to Clause xiii, was taken in 1566, when Archbishop Parker issued in the Queen's name, and by virtue of a mandatory letter received from her, the "Advertisements" already referred to.[3]

Whichever view be correct, there is abundant evidence proving that there is no trace after 1559 of the ritual use of any other vestments except the surplice, and occasionally the cope. We should remember in this connection that Elizabeth told Parker in 1571 that she was minded "that none should be suffered to decline either on the right hand or the left from the direct line limited by authority of our said laws and injunctions;[4] and was so strenuous in the enforcement of ecclesiastical discipline that Bishop Jewel, in referring to the bitter opposition of the Puritans to the "linen surplice," declared "that she was unable to endure the least alteration in matters of religion."[5] It is most improbable therefore that Elizabeth, who certainly had no dislike to ornate ceremonial, would have permitted a law concerning vestments to be evaded by the use of a "minimum" ritual which, it has recently been

[1] Thus Archbishop Parker inquires in 1563, "whether your priests curates, or ministers, do use in the time of the celebration of Divine Service to wear a surplice prescribed by the Queen's Majesty's Injunctions and the Book of Common Prayer."—Quoted in Tomlinson, *ut supra*, p. 48.

[2] Purchas and Ridsdale cases.

[3] Cf. Parker's *Correspondence*, pp. 223-6 and 273-4.

[4] Parker, *Correspondence*, p. 386.

[5] *Zurich Letters*, vol. i, p. 149.

asserted, was all that the "Advertisements" enjoined.[1]

Apart from definite contemporary statements that all vestments, except surplices, were abolished by legal authority in 1559,[2] it is impossible to suppose that if a "maximum" ritual use of chasubles, albs and tunicles was still really legal, Elizabeth would have allowed the bishops in their Visitation Articles and Royal Commissions to order the defacement and destruction of these very garments as "monuments of superstition." Yet this is what actually took place throughout her reign and as late as Archbishop Laud's day. For in his Visitation Articles of 1628, Laud inquires "whether doth your minister wear the surplice, while he is saying Public Prayers and *administering the Sacrament?*" and whether any secretly conceal "any Mass books, copes, vestments, albs or other ornaments of superstition uncancelled or undefaced?"[3]

The requirements of the "Advertisements" were confirmed by the canons of 1604, and strictly enforced till the outbreak of the Civil War. At the revision of the Prayer Book in 1662, the "Ornaments Rubric" was altered to conform to the wording of the Act of 1559 (which was then made part of the statutory Prayer Book), with the intention of re-enforcing the

[1] The surplice, which was used, according to this theory, as a "minimum" for the Communion and at all ministrations in Elizabeth's reign, was not, however, *even permitted* for the Communion by the rubric of 1549 ("the second year of the reign of King Edward VI")!

[2] Bishop Horn, in 1565, says, "By the Act of Parliament which passed before our return, *though the other habits were taken away*, the wearing of square caps and surplices was continued to the clergy." *Zurich Letters*, vol. i, p. 142. Archbishop Whitgift, in 1574, confirmed this in saying, "All the popish apparel which they used in their mass, this Church hath refused . . . neither do we retain the massing Levitical apparel."—*Works*, vol. iii, p. 550.

[3] *Works*, vol. v, p. 414.

use of the surplice " at all times " of Divine Service, in opposition to the scruples of the Puritans,[1] and no attempt was made before the middle of the last century to revive the use of the discarded vestments prescribed by the Prayer Book of 1549.[2] It is evident, therefore, that these vestments must have been regarded as distinctly illegal, for, as a recent writer well observes, " there is no question of permissive use, or of a maximum and minimum use ; if these ornaments are lawful no others are, and the Injunctions, Canons and other documents, which enjoin the use of the surplice only . . . and represent the almost universal practice of the Church since the reign of Elizabeth have no authority." But it cannot be seriously imagined that " the Sovereign, the Episcopate, and the clergy have for three hundred years assisted in a flagrant breach of the law."[3]

Romish Bishops Deprived

The Marian bishops, although they had vigorously opposed the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, had so far been unmolested, but they were now required to take the oath, acknowledging the Queen's supremacy. Summoning them to her presence, Elizabeth urged them to conform, and forsake the " superstitious worship " of the Romish Church. Many of them had successfully

[1] Cf. Tomlinson, *ut supra*, pp. 140 and 154-6.

[2] After the Restoration, the bishops in their Visitation Articles frequently inquire if the law requiring the use of the surplice " at all ministrations " has been obeyed, but make no mention of any other vestment.

[3] Cornish, *English Church in Nineteenth Century*, vol. ii, p. 153. In an introduction to the *Prayer Book*, published in 1801, the author commenting on this rubric remarks that in the First Book of Edward VI " we find directions for wearing various articles of ornament in dress which *are now out of use and hardly known to us.*"—J. Reeves, *Common Prayer*, p. 3 (1801).

retained their positions during the changes imposed by Henry VIII, Edward and Mary, but they now resolved to be faithful to their convictions, and all except Kitchen of Landaff refused the oath, Archbishop Heath even boldly reproving the Queen for not imitating her sister's zeal for the Apostolic See. Elizabeth replied, "that her crown being wholly independent, she would own no sovereign excepting Christ Jesus, the King of Kings . . . and that she should look on all her subjects as enemies to God and the crown who should henceforth abet the Pope's pretensions."[1] Altogether, fourteen bishops were deprived of their sees, two were sent to the Tower; the rest, with the exception of Bonner, who was imprisoned to protect him from popular revenge, lived quietly in the houses of their friends, or in the custody of the Reformed bishops, a *marked contrast to the persecuting policy pursued by Mary*.[2] Royal commissioners were appointed to make a general visitation of the kingdom, with power to deprive all clergy who refused to take the Oath of Supremacy or accept the new Prayer Book, and although these visitors seem to have proceeded leniently, many of the clergy must have sacrificed their conscientious scruples to their material welfare, as apparently scarcely two hundred were ejected from their preferments.[3]

[1] Collier, vol. vi, p. 253. There is little doubt that Elizabeth was regarded as an uncompromising champion of the Reformed Faith. De Quadra, the Romanist Bishop of Aquila, writing to Philip II of Spain on July 27th, 1559, says: "I have lost all hope in the affairs of this woman. . . . In religious matters she has been saturated ever since she was born in a bitter hatred to our faith, and her one object is to destroy it."—*Spanish State Papers*, p. 89.

[2] Cf. Strype, *Annals*, vol. i, pp. 141-5.

[3] Fuller, *Church Hist.*, bk. ix, sect. 1, p. 22, and Burnet, vol. iii, p. 510, and Gee, *Eliz. Clergy*, p. 1.

Archbishop Matthew Parker

From the portrait at Lambeth Palace

By permission of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Parker, Archbishop

Probably Elizabeth could have found no better man to undertake the supreme responsibility of carrying out the new religious settlement than Matthew Parker, who succeeded Cardinal Pole in the See of Canterbury. He had been Chaplain both to Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, and Dean of Lincoln under Edward VI, and had managed, in spite of his reforming views, to live quietly in retirement under Queen Mary. A man of ripe scholarship, undoubted piety, and moderate opinions,[1] with little or no sympathy with the over-sensitive scruples of the Puritans, he was well qualified to enforce a strict conformity to the simple ritual requirements of the new Prayer Book. Most reluctantly yielding to the royal pressure, he was consecrated at Lambeth on December 17th, 1559, by Bishops Barlow, Scory, Coverdale and Hodgkins, according to the Ordinal of the restored Prayer Book of Edward VI.[2] The vacant sees were filled by undoubted Reformers, most of whom had been in exile on the Continent. Thus, Grindal became Bishop of London, Cox was appointed to Ely, Sandys to Worcester, Horn to Winchester, Jewel to Salisbury, Barlow to Chichester, Scory to Hereford, and Guest to Rochester.

The task of restoring order and uniformity which confronted the new episcopate was no easy one. Jewel wrote to Peter Martyr at the conclusion of his labours

[1] A modern Roman Catholic historian describes him as of "known piety and integrity" and "the most distinguished of Elizabethan prelates both for his learning and statesmanship."—Dom. Birt, *Eliz. Relig. Settlement*, pp. 250 and 471 (1907).

[2] The "Nag's Head" fable, circulated some fifty years later by the papalists, that Parker was irregularly consecrated, at a tavern of that name in Cheapside, by Scory, has long since been discredited even by Romanist historians. Cf. Dom. Birt, *ut supra*, pp. 249-50.

on the royal visitation, telling him that " it was hardly credible what a wilderness of superstition had sprung up in the darkness of the Marian times." " We found," he says, " in all places, votive relics of saints, nails with which the infatuated people dreamed that Christ had been pierced, and I know not what small fragments of the sacred cross . . . the cathedral churches were nothing else but dens of thieves or worse, if anything more foul can be mentioned."[1] " Our universities," he told Bullinger, " are so depressed and ruined, that at Oxford there are scarcely two individuals who think with us."[2]

Protest against Images

The bishops also experienced unexpected difficulty owing to the Queen's desire to retain altars and images in the churches, although later on the Royal Injunctions distinctly ordered the substitution of Communion tables for altars, and directed that images were not to be extolled. Parker and his colleagues presented long and learned petitions, pointing out to the Queen that the use of images or altars was contrary to the teaching of the Scriptures and the primitive church, and also to the judgment of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, and the leading foreign Reformers, " the greatest learned men of the world," and that it was illogical " to take away the Sacrifice of the Mass and leave the altar standing seeing the one was ordained for the other."[3] They were apparently prepared to resign their positions rather than countenance the use of

[1] *Zurich Letters*, vol. i, p. 44.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 33.
[3] Strype, *Annals*, vol. i, pp. 160-3, and Parker, *Correspondence*, pp. 79-95.

images. "Matters are come to that pass," wrote Jewel to Martyr, "that either the crosses of silver and tin, which we have everywhere broken in pieces, must be restored or our bishoprics relinquished."[1] Elizabeth was at length prevailed upon to give way, and Bishop Sandys informed Martyr "that all images of every kind were, at our last visitation, not only taken down, but also burnt, and that too by public authority."[2] The Queen, however, greatly to the chagrin of the bishops, insisted for a time on retaining the crucifix and candles in her own private chapel.

There is, however, good reason to conclude that this insistence on a ritual display was feigned for diplomatic reasons owing to the dangerous political situation arising from the accession of Francis II, the husband of Mary, Queen of Scots, to the French throne in July, 1559. For Elizabeth had adopted the revived Prayer Book of 1552 over a month *before* its use was compulsory, while at Easter the Communion was apparently celebrated according to the 1552 rite, the officiating clergy wearing the "mere surplice."[3]

Scarcity of Preachers

Another great difficulty confronting the bishops was the ignorance of the clergy and the great scarcity of those qualified to preach. Lever informed Bullinger in 1560 that "many of our parishes have no clergymen, and some dioceses are without a bishop; there is hardly one in a hundred who is able and willing to preach the Word of God."[4] Jewel echoes the same complaint to

[1] *Zurich Letters*, vol. i, p. 68.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 74.
[3] Cf. Gee, *Eliz. Clergy*, pp. 91-6.
[4] *Zurich Letters*, pp. 85 and 92.

Martyr. "We are only wanting in preachers, and of these there is a great and alarming scarcity." A contemporary, deploring the decline of learning at the universities, states that, owing to the miserable stipends of the clergy, parents found it "more profitable to make their sons lawyers or physicians, or anything than ministers; for that, when they had bestowed all they could get on one child in the university, he was not able to live himself or help any friend he had."[1]

Under these circumstances, the bishops were constrained to ordain ignorant "artificers" who, "partly by their light behaviour and trade of life, were very offensive to the people,"[2] and very soon complaints were heard of the great neglect and irreverent keeping of the churches.[3] Bullinger's *Decades* were appointed to be used as sermons by the inferior clergy, while in many places laymen were employed to read the services and a homily. Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* was also ordered to be set up in the churches for general reading, and must soon have become a fruitful means of preserving the bitter memories of the Marian persecutions.[4]

Elizabeth also strongly objected to the marriage of the clergy, and Cecil informed Parker that he had great difficulty to prevent her openly forbidding it.[5] She issued an order, which greatly offended the archbishop, forbidding the "head or member of any college or cathedral church to have his wife or other woman

[1] Strype, *Annals*, vol. i, p. 361.
[2] Parker, *Correspondence*, p. 120.
[3] Collier, vol. vi, p. 334.
[4] The Convocation of 1571 ordered all bishops and church dignitaries to keep a copy in some public room for the instruction of their domestics and others who were occasionally entertained by them.—Collier, vol. vi, p. 500.
[5] Parker, *Correspondence*, p. 48.

LAMBETH PALACE
From an etching by Hollar.

to abide within the precincts,"[1] and went out of her way to insult Mrs. Parker when visiting the Archbishop at Lambeth Palace.

The bishops were often seriously hampered by the disgraceful way in which the Queen appropriated or despoiled the revenues of the Church. Parliament had restored to the Crown the first-fruits and tenths of benefices, and also authorised Elizabeth to take possession of the lands belonging to the vacant sees by giving in exchange impropriate tithes which were often burdened with considerable charges. Parker and four of the bishops humbly but unsuccessfully petitioned the Queen to accept an annual pension of 1,000 marks rather than cripple the work of the Church by these disastrous "exchanges." Sees were sometimes kept vacant for years and the estates bestowed often on Court favourites. When Bishop Cox attempted to prevent the Lord Keeper, Sir Christopher Hatton, from seizing his garden in Holborn to build himself a mansion, the Queen sternly reproved him with a threat of deprivation.[2]

Revision of the Articles

The Forty-two Articles of 1552 had not yet been revived, and the bishops had only required the clergy to make twice every year a public profession of their acceptance of "Eleven Articles" of Religion, which

[1] Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, vol. i, p. 308. By the 29th Injunction of 1559, the clergy had to secure the approval of the bishop and two justices for their proposed marriage, but an Act in 1571 allowed them "to marry at their own discretion," while in 1604 (I Jas. i, c. 25) the Edwardian Acts were revived which placed the marriage of the clergy on the same footing as that of other persons.

[2] "Proud prelate, you know what you were before I made you what you are; if you do not immediately comply with my request by G——, I will unfrock you." Cf. Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, p. 166.

they had compiled under the supervision of Archbishop Parker.[1] The Convocation which met in January, 1563, however, immediately proceeded to the consideration of the Forty-two Articles. They were carefully revised, both by the bishops and the Lower House of Convocation, and several alterations or additions were made, borrowed mainly from the Lutheran *Confession of Wurtemburg*. In the end the number was reduced to thirty-nine ; the four last of the Edwardine Articles, which had related to the theories of the Anabaptists, being omitted, but an Article was added concerning the wicked who unworthily partake of the Sacrament of Christ's body, while the Article which had expressly denied the " real and bodily presence of Christ's flesh and blood " in the Sacrament was altered to the simple statement that " the body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after an heavenly and spiritual manner, and the mean whereby it is received and eaten is faith."[2] As thus amended, the Articles were subscribed by the members of both Houses, but after receiving the royal ratification it was discovered that the Article (xxix.) concerning the " wicked who eat not the body of Christ " had been omitted, and a clause had been added to Article xx., declaring that the " Church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith." At the final revision in 1571, however, Article xxix. was again inserted, and the additional clause to Article xx. retained, and Parliament required all the clergy to subscribe those Articles relating to the Sacraments and " the confession of the true Christian faith."

[1] Cf. Hardwick, *Articles*, pp. 118-9, and Burnet, vol. iv, p. 439, *Records*, No. 11.

[2] Article xxviii.

In 1583, Archbishop Whitgift, in his famous "Three Articles," which excited such bitter opposition amongst the Puritan ministers, required the clergy, besides subscribing to the Royal Supremacy, the Prayer Book and Ordinal, to declare their belief that "all the Articles were agreeable to the Word of God."[1]

A determined attempt was also made in Convocation to alter the discipline enjoined by the Prayer Book. Bishop Sandys, who was supported by Grindal, unsuccessfully attempted to persuade the Upper House to declare against baptism by women and the use of the sign of the cross in the baptismal ceremony. In the Lower House a petition was drawn up, praying that copes and surplices might be taken away, kneeling at Communion be optional "because divers communicants superstitiously both kneel and knock," that organs be prohibited and the sign of the cross in baptism omitted. Although these proposals were rejected, six other Articles of a very similar, but slightly modified, character, were warmly debated, and at length only defeated by one vote by means of the proxies of absent members.[2] These extravagant demands, which were thus narrowly rejected, became the battle-cry of the Puritans for the next century.

Nowell's Catechism

Convocation also approved a Catechism for use "in the universities and grammar schools of the realm," which had been compiled in Latin and afterwards translated into English and Greek by Dean Nowell, the Prolocutor of the Lower House. It was drawn

[1] Hardwick, *Articles*, pp. 223 and 229, and Fuller, book ix, sect. iv, p. 10.

[2] Strype, *Annals*, vol. i, pp. 335-8.

largely from the catechisms of Calvin and Bishop Ponet, and Bishop Overall is supposed to have used it as a basis for his appendix on the Sacraments which was added to the Prayer Book *Catechism* in 1604.[1] It was, however, laid aside for some years until, at the special request of Archbishop Parker,[2] it was first printed in 1570, and its exclusive use was ordered by the canons of the following year.

The Bishops' Bible

The bishops were also engaged on a revision of the Great Bible, which was in danger of being superseded by the "Geneva Bible" published in 1560, a careful and scholarly translation, containing, however, marginal notes advocating the extreme opinions of the Puritans. The revision was completed in 1568, and the new Bible, authorised by Convocation in 1571, was commonly known as the "Bishops' Bible."[3] Writing to the Queen in October, 1568, Parker refers to this new translation as "this high treasure of God's Holy Word so set out as may be proved to be faithfully handled in the vulgar tongue."[4]

Jewel's "Apology"

Elizabeth's reformation had now been successfully accomplished, both in its political and doctrinal aspects, but the decrees which were being fulminated at the Council of Trent received, probably, their most powerful contradiction by the publication, in 1562, of Bishop

[1] Cf. Procter, *ut supra*, p. 431, note 3.

[2] Nowell's *Catechism*, p. 6, and Strype, *Annals*, vol. i, p. 353. Nowell published altogether three Catechisms, the "Larger," "Middle" and "Little." It was the last which Overall made use of.

[3] Cf. *Printed English Bible*, p. 117 sq.

[4] *Correspondence*, p. 338.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF MOSES, called GENESIS.

CHAP. I.

1 The creation of Heauen and Earth, 5 of the light, 6 of the firmament, 9 of the earth separated from the waters, 11 and made fruitfull, 14 of the Sunne, Moone, and Starres, 20 of fish and fowle, 24 of beasts and cattell, 26 of Man in the Image of God. 29 Also the appointment of food.

*Psal.33.6. and 136.5. Acts.14.15 and 17.24. Iebr.11.3

IN the beginning God created the heauen, and the earth.

2 And the earth was without forme, and voyd, and darkenesse was vpon the face of the deepe: and the Spirit of God mooued vpon the face of the waters.

*2.Cor 4.6.

3 And God said, *Let there be light: and there was light.

†Hebr. betweene the light and betweene the darkenesse. ‡Hebr. and the euening was, and the morning was one. *Psal.136. ‡Ier.10.12 and 51.15. ‖Hebr. Expansion.

4 And God saw the light, that it was good: and God diuided † the light from the darkenesse.

5 And God called the light, Day, and the darkenesse he called Night: ‡and the euening and the morning were the first day.

6 ¶ And God said, *Let there be a ‖firmament in the midst of the waters: and let it diuide the waters from the waters.

7 And God made the firmament, and diuided the waters, which were vnder the firmament, from the waters, which were aboue the firmament: and it was so.

*Ier.51.15

8 And God called the *firmament, heauen: and the euening and the morning were the second day.

*Psal.33.7 and 136.6 Iob.38.8

9 ¶ And God said, Let the waters vnder the heauen be gathered together vnto one place, and let the dry land appeare: and it was so.

10 And God called the drie land, Earth, and the gathering together of the waters called hee, Seas: and God saw that it was good.

†Heb.tender grasse.

11 And God said, Let the earth bring foorth † grasse, the herbe yeelding seed, and the fruit tree, yeelding fruit after his kinde, whose seed is in it selfe, vpon the earth: and it was so.

12 And the earth brought foorth grasse, and herbe yeelding seed after his kinde, and the tree yeelding fruit, whose seed was in it selfe, after his kinde: and God saw that it was good.

13 And the euening and the morning were the third day.

*Deu.4.19 Psal.136.7. †Hebr. to separate betweene the day and betweene the night. ‡Heb. for the vse of the day, &c.

14 ¶ And God said, Let there bee *lights in the firmament of the heauen, to diuide † the day from the night: and let them be for ‡signes and for seasons, and for dayes and yeeres.

15 And let them be for lights in the firmament of the heauen, to giue light vpon the earth: and it was so.

16 And God made two great lights: the greater light † to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: he made the starres also.

17 And God set them in the firmament of the heauen, to giue light vpon the earth:

*Ier.31.35

18 And to *rule ouer the day, and

A ouer

A PAGE FROM THE AUTHORISED VERSION OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE, 1611

ST. PAUL'S CROSS

From an engraving of a diptych belonging to the Society of Antiquaries.

The picture was painted by John Gipkyn at the cost of Henry Farley. Dr. John King, Bishop of London, preaching before King James I., his Queen, Charles Prince of Wales, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Courtiers, recommending the repair of the Cathedral: on Sunday, March 26th, 1616.

Jewel's *Apology of the Church of England*, a most scholarly production, which ably defended the Anglican religious settlement. This celebrated work, undertaken at the urgent request of Archbishop Parker,[1] had been occasioned by the controversy which arose out of the famous challenge made in a sermon preached by Jewel at Paul's Cross in 1560. Jewel had boldly invited his Romanist antagonists to join issue with him on twenty-seven different points of doctrine and practice. Against the charge of innovation and novelty he replied, "That if any learned men of all our adversaries are able to bring any one sufficient sentence out of any Catholic doctor or Father, or out of any old general council, or out of the Holy Scriptures, or any one example of the primitive Church, whereby it may be plainly and clearly proved that for the space of six hundred years after Christ . . . that the Bishop of Rome was then called universal bishop . . . or that the people were taught to believe that Christ's body is really, substantially, corporally, carnally or naturally in the Sacrament, or that His body is, or may be, in a thousand places or more at one time, or that the priest did then hold up the Sacrament over his head, or that the people did then fall down and worship it with godly honour . . . or that whosoever had affirmed that the Sacrament is a figure, a pledge, a token or a remembrance of Christ's body had been judged for a heretic . . . or that the priest had then authority to offer up Christ to the Father, or to communicate or receive the Sacrament for another, as they do, or to apply the virtue of Christ's death and passion

[1] The *Apology* received the approval of the Queen and Convocation and a copy of it was ordered to be placed in churches and in the houses of dignitaries.

to any man by means of the mass . . . he was ready to give over and subscribe unto them."[1]

Similarly, his great aim in the *Apology* was to refute the charge of innovation and heresy which the Romanists had brought against the doctrine and position of the reformed Church of England. He pointed out that all the early Fathers appealed only to the Scriptures as a test of orthodoxy, and he therefore challenged his opponents, if they wished to be called Catholics, to "convince and master them" by the Scriptures.[2] "*If we be heretics*," he pertinently asks, "*which refer all our controversies unto the Holy Scriptures, and in comparison of them set little by other things . . . how is it meet to call them which fear the judgment of the Holy Scriptures, and do prefer before them their own dreams and full cold inventions, and to maintain their own traditions have defaced and corrupted the ordinances of Christ and of the Apostles?*"[3] "For we," he continues, "after the example of Christ, of the Apostles and of the holy Fathers do give the whole Sacrament to the people. These men contrary to the Fathers, the Apostles and to Christ Himself, divide the Sacrament and pluck away the one part from the people. We have restored the Lord's Supper according to the institution of Christ, and have made it to be a communion in very deed. They have made it a *Private Mass*. So that we give unto the people the Lord's Supper, they a vain pageant to gaze upon."

Harding, a renegade Protestant, who attempted

[1] Jewel's Works, vol. i, pp. 20-21.

[2] "Surely," he says, "we have ever judged the primitive Church of Christ's time, of the apostles and of the Holy Fathers to be the Catholic Church."—*Apology*, p. 70.

[3] *Ibid*, pp. 16 and 111-2.

the task of answering the *Apology*, used the most bitter and virulent language, and relied on the Forged Decretals and other spurious writings. He asserted that the Bishop of Rome was always infallible in his determinations, as he was under the constant direction of the Holy Spirit, and that whoever separated from his communion was *ipso facto* a heretic and deprived of the hope of salvation.

The *Apology* was translated from the Latin original into English by Lady Bacon, the mother of the celebrated Lord Chancellor, and soon had a wide circulation on the Continent, being translated into many different languages. It was examined by the Council of Trent, and two bishops were charged with the task of replying to it, a work which, however, was never accomplished. In England it was held in the highest esteem by Churchmen of all shades of opinion.[1]

[1] Bishop Andrewes, preaching before the Count Palatine, said, "Look at the *Apology* of our church—truly a Jewel. Whoso will may find our doctrine there."—Meyrick, *Scriptural and Catholic Truth*, p. 191, Longmans. In 1610, Archbishop Bancroft directed that every parish should procure a copy of Jewel's Works.—Cardwell, *Doct. Annals*, vol. ii, p. 160.

CHAPTER XIV

THE OPPOSITION OF ROMANISTS AND PURITANS

Lenient Treatment of Romanists

It was only natural that a settlement which had been arrived at by the deliberate adoption of a middle course between the extremes of Romish mediævalism, on the one hand, and advanced Protestantism on the other, should be met with determined opposition from both these quarters. It was also not to be expected that, in an age when the toleration of varying forms of religious belief was an idea that only existed in the imagination of a few philosophical visionaries, any deliberate want of conformity with the established religious system would be permitted with impunity. Elizabeth, however, made it her boast that "*it was not her intention to press into the retirements of conscience, but that all who conformed to her laws should be looked on as good subjects and treated accordingly*,"[1] and in regard to the adherents of the "old" religion during the first ten years of her reign this boast was not an idle one. The Romanist peers remained in the House of Lords, while the fines for not attending church were not rigorously exacted. The Romish bishops who refused the Oath of Supremacy had, as we have seen, only suffered a mild form of detention, and, although probably still the larger part of the clergy nominally

[1] Collier, vol. vi, p. 481.

adhered to the medieval faith, by far the greater number of these had preferred to dissemble their real convictions under the cloak of outward conformity to the new system. Although a second refusal to swear to the Queen's Supremacy legally involved the penalty of treason, Archbishop Parker particularly instructed the bishops not to tender the oath to the Marian clergy a second time without first obtaining his special permission.[1] The Roman Catholic laity also, during this period, for the most part yielded a passive obedience by attendance at the Church services, while receiving the secret ministrations of their own priests, who often contrived to act as chaplains in private families.

Rising of Northern Earls

An active and heated controversy was, however, vigorously maintained by means of the press between the champions of the two opposing religious parties, and events soon proved that there was an important section of Romish adherents who were secretly plotting for the overthrow of Elizabeth and the restoration of Papal power.[2] This violent attachment to the "old" faith was especially strong in the North of England, where, after 1568, the presence of Mary, the deposed and fugitive Queen of the Scots, and, as the heir presumptive to the English throne, the hope

[1] Strype's *Life of Parker*, p. 125 (1711).

[2] As early as 1563 a plot had been discovered in favour of Mary, Queen of Scots, which had led the Commons, in a petition to the Queen, to introduce severer laws against the Popish recusants, to state that "We fear a faction of heretics in your realm, contentious and malicious papists" . . . who "lie in wait to advance some title under which they may revive their late unspeakable cruelty." Cf. Gee, *Eliz. Clergy*, p. 187. The result was the passing of the "Assurance of Supremacy Act" on April 10th, 1563.

of the Papal party, only added fuel to the flame. Thus, in the following year occurred the serious but ill-fated rising of the Northern earls, with the vain attempt at the restoration of the Romish faith and the removal of "upstart" councillors, which was suppressed with such ruthless severity. The rebels, however, succeeded in capturing Durham, and mass was once more celebrated in the cathedral before their leaders took to flight at the approach of the royal army. The majority of the Romanists had, however, remained loyal, and it was not until Pius V declared open war in 1570 by the proclamation of his bull, excommunicating Elizabeth as a heretic and usurper, and absolving all her subjects from their allegiance, that an active and dangerous opposition was commenced, which soon led Elizabeth to embark on a policy of persecution and proscription.

Seminary Priests

With the Pope's bull ordering all true "Catholics" to renounce their allegiance to Elizabeth under pain of excommunication, and under no circumstances to countenance her schismatical Church, the English Romanists were placed in a most embarrassing position.[1] They could no longer conscientiously attend their parish churches, and as the old Marian clergy, who secretly shared their views, gradually died out, there was little prospect of the ministrations of their own faith being continued. To meet this difficulty some of the more zealous of their party had succeeded, in 1568, in establishing a seminary at Douay[2] for the training of

[1] Professor Pollard well observes that "so far as he could do so the Pope had rendered treason a necessary part of the religious duties of every English Romanist."—*History of England*, p. 377.

[2] This college was removed to Rheims in 1578.

English priests, willing to undertake the perilous task of returning as missionaries to their own countrymen. Dr. William Allen, a former Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, was appointed President, and in 1579 a similar college was founded at Rome, at the head of which was placed the famous Jesuit, Robert Parsons. Numbers of these self-denying and enthusiastic missionaries, inspired by the victories of the counter-Reformation in Europe, came to England every year, and the success that attended their labours was very great, especially after the arrival of the two Jesuits, Parsons and Campion.[1] Under various names and disguises, these missionaries travelled from place to place, and at the peril of their lives exhorted the secret assemblies of Romanists to remain

Romanist Plots

stedfast to their faith. This spiritual enthusiasm often served, however, as a cloak for dangerous political intrigue, and plots were constantly being hatched by the more fanatical Romanists to destroy Elizabeth and restore the true faith. In 1571, Ridolfi, an Italian, with the approval of the Pope and Philip of Spain, formed the design of liberating Mary Queen of Scots, marrying her to the Duke of Norfolk, and restoring Roman Catholicism under Mary's rule. The plot was, however, discovered by the vigilance of Cecil, and only resulted in bringing Norfolk, the most powerful of the old feudal barons, to the scaffold. Throgmorton's plot, in 1583, to assassinate Elizabeth, met with a similar fate, while, in 1586, a design to make Mary Queen of England, by Spanish aid, which had

[1] See Campion's letter in Fuller, *Church History*, vol. ii, pp. 521-4.

been hatched at the English seminary at Rheims, was detected by Walsingham's spies. Babington, the chief conspirator, was executed, after evidence had been obtained of Mary's complicity, which led to her untimely death in the following year.

These constant plots and intrigues, combined with the ceaseless activity of the seminary priests, created an alarm almost amounting to a panic in the minds of English Protestants, which the terrible massacre of French Protestants on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572, only intensified. Every Romish priest, if not every papalist layman, was regarded as a possible traitor, and this feeling was not altogether dissipated when the repulse of the formidable Spanish Armada, in 1588, proved that the English Romanists, as a body, preferred loyalty to their Queen and country to a conflicting and over-exacting obedience to the temporal claims of the Pope.

During this time of crisis the most severe laws were passed against Romanists. The fines for "recusancy" or non-attendance at church were greatly increased, and after 1571 anyone publishing bulls from Rome, or reconciling anyone, or being reconciled to the Romish Church, was liable to the penalties of high treason. In 1585 a law was passed banishing from the realm all Jesuits and seminary priests, under pain of being adjudged traitors.[1] Parsons managed to escape, but Campion, who apparently was innocent of any political designs,[2] had been arrested and executed in 1581,

[1] Gee and Hardy, pp. 485-92. All who knowingly harboured Jesuits were liable to suffer death as felons.

[2] He had however addressed a bold and arrogant challenge to the Privy Council offering to maintain the truth of the Romish Faith "before all the doctors and masters of both Universities."—Strype, *Annals*, vol. iii, Appendix No. vi.

and Romanist historians assert that during the next twenty years as many as two hundred priests met with a similar fate,[1] while numbers died from the effects of their harsh imprisonment. In 1593 a most severe Act forbade all Popish "recusants," "seditious persons terming themselves Catholics," to remove more than five miles from their homes, unless they obtained a special licence to travel on business, under penalty of forfeiting their lands and property for life, or being compelled to abjure the realm.[2]

Elizabeth's Danger

Before passing judgment, however, on this severe persecution, *we must carefully bear in mind the extreme danger which faced the country and the Protestant cause in the event of the sudden removal of the Queen.* For until the execution of Mary Queen of Scots in 1587, Elizabeth's nearest successor was a devoted Romanist, whose claims to the throne were actively supported by the power of Spain, and thus Englishmen were faced with the immediate possibility of the revival of the fires of Smithfield should one of the numerous plots to assassinate the Queen succeed. With Jesuit priests diligently instructing their flocks to regard Elizabeth as a heretic and a usurper, it was not very surprising if the Government sometimes made them suffer merely for their treasonable opinions, which might so easily ripen into traitorous actions, especially as these Romish emissaries usually refused to deny the Pope's power to depose the Queen and absolve her subjects from their allegiance.[3]

[1] Lingard, *ut supra*, vol. vi, pp. 257-8.

[2] Gee and Hardy, pp. 498-508.

[3] An unequivocal denial of this claim usually procured them a pardon. See also Fuller, vol. iii, p. 67.

There is little reason to doubt that Elizabeth was by nature averse from religious persecution, and preferred, as Walsingham explained, "that consciences should be won by force of truth" rather than by "terror and rigour," disliking "to make windows into men's hearts and secret thoughts,"[1] and although an impartial verdict must regard her extreme measures against the Romanists as unjustifiably severe, it must be admitted that she did not resort to them before she had received, if not a legitimate excuse, at least very grievous provocation. There is also little doubt that this policy of repression tended rather to increase than weaken their numbers and enthusiasm, and although by the close of the reign they had sunk to an insignificant minority, this was due rather to the zeal of the new Protestant preachers—who, succeeding the old Marian clergy, soon moulded their congregations into a strong anti-Popish direction—than to the effect of the persecution the Romanists had endured.

Puritan Objection to the "Habits"

As we have already seen (Chap. XII), a large section of the more extreme Reformers had, during their exile on the Continent, taken exception to several of the ceremonies enjoined by the Prayer Book of 1552, and thus the revival of that Book by the Elizabethan settlement was by no means a fulfilment of their hopes. They regarded as especially obnoxious the strict enforcement of the square cap and surplice, describing them as "Aaronic vestments" and "rags of Popery." It is important to bear in mind that these "Puritans," as they were termed, had at this

[1] Burnet, vol. iii, p. 533.

time no quarrel with the doctrinal standard of the Reformed Church, and no objection to its episcopal form of government, and certainly no desire to separate from its communion. They claimed that, as these vestments and other minor ceremonies, such as the sign of the cross in baptism and kneeling at Communion, had been associated with the superstitious worship of medievalism, they were necessarily defiled, and as they possessed no specific divine sanction, they should not be imposed on the consciences of those who were offended by them. There is little doubt that practically all the early Elizabethan Churchmen strongly sympathised with this view, and, if they had possessed a free hand, would have granted indulgence to the Puritan scruples. The majority of the Elizabethan bishops regarded Church polity as a matter of expediency and policy, rather than one of essential principle or divine right, and would have acquiesced in a Presbyterian form of government had it been ordered by authority. Bishop Grindal informed Bullinger that "we who are now bishops . . . before we entered upon our ministry contended long and earnestly for the removal of these things (the use of the habits) that have occasioned the present dispute; but as we were unable to prevail, either with the Queen or the Parliament, we judged it best, after consultation, not to desert our churches for the sake of a few ceremonies not unlawful in themselves." "We have hitherto laboured," he and Bishop Horn wrote on another occasion, "with all earnestness, fidelity, and diligence to effect what our brethren require and what we ourselves wish."[1] At the same time the

[1] *Zurich Letters*, vol. i, pp. 177 and 169.

bishops argued in opposition to the Puritan contention, "that the ministers of the Church of England might adopt without impiety the distinction of habits now prescribed by public authority . . . especially when it was proposed to them as a matter of indifference, and when the use was enjoined only for the sake of order and due obedience to the laws."[1]

There is little doubt that it was entirely due to the determined attitude of the Queen that the obligatory use of the surplice was retained, for her bishops were only induced to enforce the obnoxious "habits" on the Puritan clergy because of their belief in the Erastian principle of the subordination of the Church to the State. They interpreted the Queen's Supremacy to mean that the civil authority must be supreme over the ecclesiastical, at any rate, in matters of discipline and polity in which there was no divinely ordered system. In fact, it was impossible for them to justify the Elizabethan settlement of religion without approving this theory; for just as Mary had accomplished the restoration of the medieval worship and Papal authority by reliance on her royal supremacy and the civil power,[2] so the precise character of the Reformation under Elizabeth had been accomplished mainly by the aid of the Queen and Parliament.

Controversy with the Bishops

The Puritan clergy, however, were prepared to abandon their ministry rather than consent to wear habits which they regarded as "impious, papistical, and idolatrous." A fierce controversy arose between

[1] *Ibid*, p. 176.

[2] It was Parliament and not Convocation which restored the medieval worship in 1553. See p. 173.

them and the bishops, and both parties appealed to the leading Swiss Reformers for their advice on the crucial question. Martyr wrote disapproving of the habits, but counselling the Puritans to "bear with them" rather than forsake their ministry, and Beza's advice was similar.[1] Bullinger and Gualter, who soon realised that the Puritans were doing their utmost to misrepresent the conduct of the bishops, advised them, even though the use of the habits might be a "burden," to regard them as "matters of indifference," particularly as special vestments had been worn by the clergy in the early Church, and they were not necessarily unlawful because used "in common with the Papists." "If it were not allowable," Bullinger well observes, "to have anything in common with them, it would be necessary to abstain from baptism and reciting the Creeds, and even to reject the Lord's Prayer."[2]

The Want of Uniformity

Although this wise advice had the effect of restraining the Puritans from forsaking their cures, they resolutely refused to conform to the simple ritual requirements enjoined by the Royal Injunctions and the Prayer Book, and consequently a deplorable licence and laxity soon prevailed. "Some," the Queen was informed in 1564, "perform divine service in the chancel, others in the body of the church, some in the pulpit with their faces to the people, some keep precisely to the order of the book, some intermix psalms in metre, . . . some receive the Communion kneeling, others standing, others sitting, some baptize in a font,

[1] *Zurich Letters*, vol. ii, pp. 39 and 135.
[2] *Ibid*, vol. i, pp. 348-55.

some in a basin, some sign with the sign of the cross, others sign not; some minister in a surplice, others without, some with a square cap, some with a round cap, some with a button-cap, some with a hat, some in scholars' clothes, some in others."[1]

Elizabeth, scandalised at this alarming want of uniformity, wrote a sharp letter to Archbishop Parker, severely reprimanding him and the other bishops for permitting such "sundry varieties and novelties," which "breed nothing but contention," and declaring her determination that the "whole realm should be brought to one manner of uniformity." She accordingly expressly authorised the bishops, by virtue of powers conferred by the Act of Uniformity, to publish injunctions "so that uniformity of order may be kept in every church."[2]

The "Advertisements"

In obedience to this command, Parker issued the "Advertisements"[3] in 1566, strictly enjoining every minister to wear "a comely surplice with sleeves" at all his ministrations, and requiring all who should be admitted to any ecclesiastical office to subscribe their intention of faithfully observing the prescribed uniformity in rites and ceremonies.[4]

The ministers of the Scotch Church wrote entreating the bishops to use gentleness towards the brethren whose consciences were wounded by the use of "such vain trifles,"[5] but Parker, although he had himself no

[1] Strype, *Parker*, p. 152.
[2] Parker, *Correspondence*, pp. 224-6.
[3] See pp. 208-10.
[4] Prothero, pp. 193-4.
[5] Cf. *Troubles at Frankfort*, pp. 252-3, and Neal, *History of Puritans*, vol. v, Appendix ii (1822).

special esteem for the cap and surplice,[1] felt compelled by the Queen's command to push matters to extremities. In spite of the fact that the Puritan clergy were a numerous and growing section, and very popular with the laity, Sampson, one of their most prominent divines, was deprived of his deanery of Christ Church, Oxford, and thirty-seven of the London ministers were suspended from their Ministry owing to their refusal to conform, in consequence of which great difficulty was experienced in supplying clergy for the vacant churches. The congregations also often sided with their Puritan pastors and refused to allow the minister to wear the surplice, or to communicate themselves at a church where it was in use. Churchwardens also refused to provide either a surplice or wafer bread, and on one occasion an administration was prevented by a zealous Puritan worshipper irreverently snatching off "the table both cup and wafer bread, because the bread was not common." Some were so stubborn, wrote Parker, that they would gladly suffer the loss of their liberty and property rather than relent.[2] The Primate experienced great difficulty in persuading Bishop Grindal to proceed against the Puritan clergy in London, and several of the other bishops, especially Pilkington of Durham and Parkhurst of Norwich, were strongly in favour of granting indulgences to the non-conforming ministers.

Opposition to Episcopacy

After 1570 the Puritan opposition entered on a new

[1] Cf. Strype's *Parker*, vol. iii, p. 332. Parker, in writing to the Lord Treasurer, said: "Does your lordship think that I care either for cap, tippet, surplice or wafer bread, or any such? But for the laws as established I esteem them."—Parker's *Correspondence*, p. 478.

[2] Parker, *Correspondence*, p. 278.

phase. The persecutions many of them were enduring by deprivation from their ministry, followed often by imprisonment for their attempts to set up separate conventicles for worship, embittered them against the bishops, and "they began to transfer to the institution of episcopacy that dislike they felt for some of the prelates."[1] A growing number now attacked as unlawful, not merely the "habits" and ceremonies, but the episcopal government of the Church. Thus, in 1572, a confession of faith was drawn up advocating a purely Presbyterian polity. "The pastor," it declared, "should be chosen by the congregation, and confirmed in his vocation by the elders with public prayer and imposition of hands." All pastors were to possess equal authority, and no church "should exercise lordship over another."[2] Episcopal ordination was not considered by many Puritans as a sufficient qualification for the ministry. They only accepted it as a purely legal requirement for the possession of their cures, to be followed by the "call" or approval of the special "presbyteries," which were being secretly established all over the country,[3] and sometimes even by a further ordination by the presbytery of some foreign Reformed Church.[4] Bishop Cox informed Gualter, in 1574, that "they (the Puritans) are zealously endeavouring to overthrow the entire order of our Anglican Church. . . . They will not allow bishops to take any precedence than as individual pastors in their respective parishes, whose highest

[1] Hallam, *ut supra*, p. 140.
[2] Neal, vol. i, p. 234 *n*.
[3] At a synod, held at Coventry in 1588, it was declared unlawful to be ordained by bishops.—Fuller, vol. iii, p. 100.
[4] Neal, vol. i, p. 211 *n*.

authority they wish to be that of governing, together with their presbytery, the rest of the parishioners."[1] Bishop Pilkington also writes that " not only the habits, but our whole ecclesiastical polity, discipline, ceremonies, liturgies, vocation of ministers, or the ministration of the Sacraments—all these are now openly attacked, and it is contended that they are not to be endured in the Church of Christ. The doctrine alone they leave untouched."[2]

Cartwright and Whitgift

The most able advocate of the views of this new party was Thomas Cartwright, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, who was, in 1570, deprived of his position, and afterwards expelled from the university for publicly teaching the unlawfulness of episcopacy. In 1572 he published a lengthy *Admonition to Parliament*, praying for the reform of various abuses and the adoption of a presbyterian form of government endowed with an almost unlimited ecclesiastical autocracy.[3] " There never can be a true ministry," he affirmed, " until archbishops and bishops be put down and all ministers made equal," nor a true government of the Church " till kings and queens do subject themselves unto the Church, and throw down their crowns before the Church, and lick up the dust of the feet of the Church, and willingly abide the censures of the Church, that is, of the

[1] *Zurich Letters*, vol. i, p. 298.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 287.

[3] A previous " Admonition to Parliament," of a very scathing character against the Reformed Church and its Prayer Book, had been issued anonymously the same year. The authors were afterwards identified as two London clergymen, Field and Wilcox. They declared the Prayer Book " to be culled and picked out of the popish dunghill, the portuise and mass book, full of all abominations."

presbytery. . . . The civil magistrate is none officer at all of the Church. For Church officers are ministers of the Church. The presbytery is the Church, and every congregation or Church should and must have in it a presbytery."[1]

This *Admonition* was answered by the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, Dr. John Whitgift, who, in reply to Cartwright's contention that the Holy Scriptures contained the only rule for the regulation not only of doctrine, but also of discipline and government, maintained that, though the Holy Scriptures were a perfect rule of faith, they were not designed as a standard of Church discipline or government, " which might lawfully be accommodated to the existing civil government."[2]

The Puritans not only possessed a large number of sympathisers in Parliament, but they had also secured the powerful support of Elizabeth's favourite, the Earl of Leicester, and thus attempts were frequently made both to discredit the authority and power of the bishops, and to alter the discipline and ceremonies of the Church. Parker bitterly complained of the secret conspiracies formed against him by the malice of the " precisians," on account of his efforts " to set forth the religion which was good and confirmed

[1] *Admonition*, Art. 2. Cf. Rogers, *Thirty-Nine Articles*, p. 13 (1607).

[2] Cf. Whitgift's Works, vol. i, pp. 246-50; and vol. iii, pp. 176 and 215. " We see manifestly," says Whitgift, " that in sundry points the government of the Church used in the Apostle's times is and hath been of necessity altered, whereby it is plain that any one certain form or kind of external government perpetually to be observed is nowhere in the Scripture prescribed to the Church, but that the charge thereof is left to the Christian magistrate so that nothing be done contrary to the Word of God."—*Works*, vol. iii, p. 215.

by public authority."[1] Elizabeth, however, resolutely refused to allow Parliament to discuss ecclesiastical questions, claiming that it was an invasion of her royal prerogative, and she summarily expelled one member who had ventured to introduce a bill for the further reformation of the Church, and imprisoned another who presumed to question her claim.

The "Prophesyings"

On the death of Parker, Grindal, Archbishop of York, succeeded to the Primacy, and, although his sympathy with the Puritans had been alienated by their new and extravagant demands, he soon incurred the full wrath of the Queen by his attitude towards the "Prophesyings" which they had inaugurated. In certain districts a plan had been adopted for the better instruction of the clergy, very similar to the modern clerical societies for sacred study. Certain "classes" or associations of clergy met at regular intervals, under the guidance of a moderator, to discuss and expound a selected portion of Scripture. Unfortunately these gatherings, which must have done much to counteract the terrible ignorance still prevailing amongst so many of the clergy, were sometimes used as an opportunity for disparaging the liturgy or government of the Church, and therefore they were soon regarded by many as secret agencies for increasing Puritan disaffection. Accordingly, in spite of the fact that several of the bishops openly favoured the "Prophesyings" when under proper regulations, Elizabeth, in 1574, ordered Parker to suppress them. A contemporary writer, with evident Puritan leanings, in bewailing their

[1] Parker, *Correspondence*, p. 472.

suppression as the work of "Satan, the author of all mischief," declares that "such was the thirstie desire of the people to hear the Word of God" that they had obtruded themselves "as hearers only" into these clerical gatherings, which were, he asserts, "a notable spur unto all the ministers to apply their books, which otherwise as in times past, would give themselves to hawking, hunting, tables, cards, dice, tippling at the alehouse . . . and other like vanities."[1] Grindal, however, allowed these "Prophesyings" to continue, and issued a special list of rules to guard against their abuse.[2] For taking this liberty he was sharply reproved by the Queen, who peremptorily ordered him to put down the "Prophesyings," and also to issue fewer licences for preaching, directing that homilies should be read instead of sermons. The Archbishop, in reply, wrote a long letter humbly expostulating with the Queen for her strange desire to limit the number of preachers. "Public and continual preaching of God's Word," he told her, "was the ordinary mean and instrument of the salvation of mankind," and the reading of homilies was only substituted "for want of preachers." As to the "Prophesyings," he informed the Queen that both he himself and ten of the other bishops were convinced by experience that they were very profitable, and therefore "he could not with safe conscience give his assent to suppressing them." "I choose rather," he concluded, "to offend your earthly majesty than to offend the heavenly majesty of God." He also petitioned the Queen that she would refer all matters touching Church doctrine and discipline

[1] W. Harrison, *Description of England*, p. 136 (1586).
[2] Grindal's *Remains*, p. 373.

to the bishops, and "not pronounce too resolutely and peremptorily in matters of faith and religion," "as in God's matters all princes ought to bow their sceptres to the Son of God and ask counsel at His mouth what they ought to do."[1]

Grindal Suspended

For this conscientious and courageous epistle, so little in harmony with the servile obedience then yielded to royal commands, Grindal was suspended, and until shortly before his death in 1583 was debarred from discharging many of the duties of his high position. Elizabeth sent a circular letter to the bishops, straitly charging them to cause the "Prophesyings" "to cease forthwith," lest she should be forced "to make some example in the reforming of you according to your deserts."[2] This strict prohibition seems, however, to have been withdrawn a few years later, as the "Prophesyings" were revived and specially encouraged by the Privy Council and the Bishop of Chester in 1585.[3]

The "Brownists"

About the year 1580, a certain number of more extreme men under the influence of the teaching of Robert Browne and Robert Harrison and Henry Barrowe began to advocate complete separation from the Church. They refused even to allow the Church of England or the foreign Reformed Churches to be true Churches, or their ordinations and Sacraments to be valid, and consequently forbade their

[1] Strype, *Life of Grindal*, pp. 558-74 (1821).
[2] *Ibid*, p. 576.
[3] Cf. Strype's *Annals*, vol. iii, p. 330, and vol. ii, Appendix xxxviii, and xxxix, and Prothero, pp. 206-7.

followers to join in communion with them.[1] These "Brownists," or "Barrowists" who were the forerunners of the later Independents, regarded each congregation as a separate church, with full powers of organisation and excommunication.[2] Browne was frequently imprisoned for propagating his views, but managed to escape to Holland, where he formed a church at Middleburgh (1582) after his own model, but eventually he returned to England and conformed to the Church. His followers were, however, frequently imprisoned for refusing to attend the Church services, or for being present at unlawful conventicles; and those who sheltered them were liable to a fine of £10 a month. So bitterly were they persecuted that, by an Act of 1593,[3] all who obstinately refused to conform to the Church were compelled to abjure the realm and the Queen's dominions altogether,[4] while as early as 1583 Copping and Thacker suffered death as "seditious libellers" for publishing Browne's tracts; and, again, ten years later, Barrowe[5] and Greenwood, two more of their number, met with a similar fate.

[1] It is doubtful if Browne himself ever denied the principle of a National Church. He separated as a witness against evil men being regarded as members of the Church. Modern Congregationalists are only indirectly descended from the "Brownists." They developed from the Independent Puritanism (at first opposed to Separatism) started at this time by men like Henry Jacob and Hugh Peters. Cf. Burrage, *Early English Dissenters*, vol. i, pp. 310, 360.

[2] They were generally known as "Separatists" in distinction to the Puritans who believed in the principle of a National State Church.

[3] Gee and Hardy, pp. 492-8.

[4] All who returned without permission were liable to the death penalty as felons, and all abjuring or refusing to abjure the realm forfeited their lands and goods for life.

[5] Barrowe was more extreme in his views than Browne and advised complete separation from the English Church not simply because it was "imperfect," but because it was "false." "The godly

Although we cannot too strongly condemn such extreme punishments for what were solely ecclesiastical offences, it is well to bear in mind that during this century no idea existed of a Church confining itself to purely spiritual functions, and thus the refusal to conform to the existing ecclesiastical government by priest or layman was regarded by all parties as equivalent to rebellion against lawful authority. Dean Whittingham well protested in 1574, while pleading for toleration to the nonconforming clergy, "that neither is subscribing always a sure note of a good subject, nor yet the refusal due proof of a rebel."[1]

Archbishop Whitgift, however, expressed the general opinion when he declared "I am persuaded that the external government of the Church under a Christian magistrate must be according to the kind and form of government used in the commonwealth."[2] He went on to argue that as monarchical government was necessary to the state, so *only* the monarchical regimen of episcopacy could be permitted in the Church.

Whitgift's Severity

Whitgift, who was promoted to the Primacy in 1583, soon displayed a far sterner spirit than his predecessor in dealing with the nonconforming clergy. He immediately secured, by virtue of the Act of Supremacy, the appointment of a new high commission court, consisting of forty-four members (twelve of whom were bishops), endowed with most arbitrary and

ought speedily and without delay forsake those disordered and ungodly synagogues and false teachers of these times as they generally stand in England."—Burrage, *ut supra*, vol. i, p. 130.

[1] Cf. *Troubles at Frankfort*, p. 232.

[2] Works, vol. ii, pp. 263-4.

comprehensive powers in dealing with ecclesiastical offences. These commissioners were empowered to tender an *ex officio* oath which compelled, under pain of imprisonment, the suspected person to answer the most searching or incriminating questions.

Whitgift had already raised a storm of opposition amongst the Puritans by prohibiting all preaching or catechising in private houses, if any but the family were assembled, and also by requiring all preachers and ministers to subscribe the famous "Three Articles" already referred to.[1] The Puritans appealed for redress to the Privy Council, maintaining that the article requiring subscription to all the Thirty-nine Articles was illegal, but the Queen supported the Archbishop, and the Puritan historian affirms that no fewer than two hundred and thirty-three non-conforming clergy were deprived of their preferments.[2] The Commons also petitioned against the *ex officio* oath, and Cecil, now Lord Burleigh, informed Whitgift that he considered the articles of interrogation drawn up by the high commission court "so curiously penned, so full of branches and circumstances, as I think the Inquisitors of Spain use not so many questions to comprehend and trap their preys."[3]

Marprelate Tracts

These severely repressive measures so exasperated the Puritans that in 1588 anonymous pamphlets[4]

[1] See p. 219, and Gee and Hardy, pp. 481-4.
[2] Neal, vol. i, p. 323.
[3] Prothero, p. 213.
[4] The first of these pamphlets appeared in 1587, dedicated to the Convocation House and "compiled for the behoof and overthrow of the unpreaching Parsons, Vicars and Curates that have learnt their catechisms and are past grace," and it was "printed oversea in Europe within two furlongs of a Bouncing Priest."—Cf. Usher,

under the pseudonym of "Martin Marprelate" were poured forth from a secret press, libelling the bishops in most scurrilous and abusive language.[1] It was found most difficult to trace the authors of these famous "Marprelate" tracts, but suspicion lighted on Penry, a Welshman, and Udal, a Puritan minister, although no conclusive proof of their guilt could be obtained. Although Udal distinctly repudiated them, a jury convicted him, and he was sentenced to death for slandering the Queen's Government. He was afterwards pardoned, but died in prison before his release. Penry was liberated, but condemned to death in 1593 for writing a seditious pamphlet against the bishops and the Queen.

Church Life

But there is good reason to believe that this violent opposition was confined to a very small minority of discontented extremists, and that the Elizabethan religious settlement had by this time won its way to the affections of the people, and was for the most part being zealously and loyally carried out by the clergy in spite of the poverty of the livings and the scarcity of preachers. A well informed contemporary gives us an interesting picture of religious life at this period (1586). The clergy, he tells us, in their outdoor apparel, were much more sober and becoming than in pre-Reformation days when "to meet a priest was to behold a peacock that spreadeth his tail when

Reconstruction of Eng. Church, vol. i, p. 49, and E. Arber, *Marprelate Controversy*.

[1] Whitgift was usually styled "Beelzebub of Canterbury, the chief of the devils," and the Book of Common Prayer "the great pregnant idol, no better than a piece of swine's flesh."—Strype, *Annals*, vol. iii, p. 580.

he danceth before the hen." The churches remained the same except that " all images, shrines, tabernacles, rood lofts and monuments of idolatry are removed, taken down and defaced. The minister saith the service commonly in the body of the Church with his face towards the people in a little tabernacle of wainscot provided for the purpose." In the Cathedrals the canons preached their courses of sermons " whereunto great numbers of all estates do orderlie resort." " The bishops are not idle in their calling, for being now exempt from Court and Council . . . they so applie their minds to the setting forth of the Word," that " they expound the Scriptures with much gravitie and skill." Every third year the Bishop held a Visitation, " wherein he confirmeth some children (though most care but little for that ceremonie)," and at the same time he diligently inquired into the doctrine and behaviour of both ministers and people.[1]

Hooker's " Ecclesiastical Polity "

A theological dispute which occurred in 1585 between Richard Hooker, the Master, and Travers, a Puritan lecturer at the Temple,[2] occasioned the former to undertake his celebrated treatises concerning the *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, the first four books of which appeared in 1594. Besides being a work of conspicuous literary merit, it has been generally accepted as the most careful and correct exposition, both concerning doctrine and polity, of the position adopted by the Reformed Anglican Church. Hooker's great aim was not only to justify, both philo-

[1] W. Harrison, *Description of England*, p. 35.

[2] " The pulpit," wrote Fuller, " spake pure Canterbury in the morning and Geneva in the afternoon."

RICHARD HOOKER
Master of the Temple

From the picture in the National Portrait Gallery.

sophically and logically, the Elizabethan ecclesiastical settlement, but also to overthrow the main contention of the Puritans, "that in Scripture there must of necessity be found some particular form of Polity Ecclesiastical, the laws whereof admit not any kind of alteration."[1] He asserted that though the Holy Scriptures were a perfect standard of doctrine, yet they were not intended to establish a uniform or immutable rule for discipline and government, nor was the apostolic practice an invariable rule for the Church in succeeding ages, but that where Scripture was silent the Church was competent to make laws for its well-being, *provided they did not contradict the express commandments of Scripture.* "Laws," he says, "touching matter of order are changeable by the power of the Church; articles concerning doctrine not so."[2]

To the Puritan contention that the Calvinistic discipline should be binding on all Churches, Hooker replied that though he considered Calvin "incomparably the wisest man that ever the French Church did enjoy,"[3] yet no Scripture could prove his discipline to be necessary for all Churches, however beneficial it may have been to the city of Geneva under the circumstances in which Calvin was placed.[4] But although Hooker strenuously opposed the Genevan discipline, "he always adhered generally to Calvin's doctrine of election,[5] carefully studied Calvin's In-

[1] Preface, VII, 4.
[2] Book V, viii, 2.
[3] Preface, II, 1.
[4] Cf. Preface, II, 7.
[5] Cf. sermon, "Certainty and Perpetuity of Faith in the Elect." From Hooker's summary conclusions on predestination, which are little more than a modification of the famous *Lambeth Articles*, it is evident that he always remained a moderate Calvinist in doctrine.

stitutes, and invariably spoke of Calvin with respect."[1] While he insisted, in opposition to the Puritans, that Scripture had not enforced any special obligatory form of Church polity, and that "the necessity of polity and regiment in all Churches may be held without holding any one certain form to be necessary in them all,"[2] he nevertheless stoutly asserted that this in no way detracted from the pre-eminent superiority of episcopal government; for he claimed, although not a divine command, yet a divine sanction for episcopacy, maintaining strongly that "it agreed best with the Sacred Scripture," and had been the accustomed practice of the Church from apostolic times.

In commenting on the Sacraments, Hooker stated that what was "alone sufficient for a Christian man to believe" concerning the words "This is My body," was that "This hallowed food, through concurrence of divine power, is in verity and in truth, unto faithful receivers, instrumentally a cause of that mystical participation, whereby as I make Myself wholly theirs, so I give them in hand an actual possession of all such saving grace as My sacrificed body can yield, and as their souls do presently need, this is to them and in them My body;" and he carefully pointed out that "the real presence of Christ's most blessed body and blood is not to be sought for in the Sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the Sacrament." "I see not," he says, "which way it should be gathered by the words of Christ, when and where the bread is His body, or

See Appendix i, *Ecclesiastical Polity*, vol. ii, p. 542 (ed. Everyman's Library), and Mozley, *Baptismal Controversy*, note 38.

[1] *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxvii, p. 291.

[2] *Ecclesiastical Polity*, bk. III, ii, 1; book VII, xi, 3 and xiv, 11.

the cup His blood, but only in the very heart and soul of him which receiveth them."[1]

New School of Divines

The doctrine and discipline of the English Church, thus ably vindicated by Hooker, and so clearly expressed in the Prayer Book and Thirty-nine Articles, the value of which, as the final results of the English Reformation, "would," as it has been well observed, "be difficult to over-estimate,"[2] has called forth the allegiance and affection, not only of past generations of English-speaking people, but also of multitudes who have embraced the Christian Faith in heathen countries. The extravagant and ribald abuse employed in the Marprelate tracts had done much to discredit the Puritans, and the strife between them and the Church greatly abated towards the close of the century. It was succeeded, however, by the rise of a controversy which was destined, in the next century, still further to disturb the peace and unity of the Church. The second generation of Puritans had, as we have seen, insisted on the divine institution of presbytery, and the Elizabethan bishops and divines, in reply, had denied that Scripture enjoined any indispensable form of Church government. "It was enough with them to show that the government by archbishops and bishops was ancient and allowable, they never ventured to urge its exclusive claim,"[3] but Bancroft,[4] in his sermon

[1] *Ecclesiastical Polity*, bk. v, lxvii, 6 and 12.

[2] Gairdner, *Church History*, p. 396.

[3] Keble's Preface to Hooker's Works, p. lix (1845). "Nearly up to the time when Hooker wrote numbers had been admitted to the ministry of the Church with no better than Presbyterian ordination and it appears by Travers' Supplication to the Council that such was the construction not uncommonly put upon the Statute of xiii Elizabeth."—*Ibid*, p. lxxvi.

[4] Bancroft clearly exposed the aim of the Puritans in his sermon—

at Paul's Cross in 1589, and Saravia and Bilson, in their writings shortly after, boldly asserted the divine and apostolical right of episcopacy ;[1] and its absolute necessity, and the insufficiency of mere presbyterian ordination, for the maintenance of a valid ministry and an apostolic Church, soon began to be advocated.[2] Not only did this new school of divines soon enunciate this exclusive theory of Church government, but many of them also incurred the charge of " heresy " by presuming to challenge the Calvinistic system of doctrine, hitherto universally regarded as orthodox by the Elizabethan divines. So much had this been the case that Hooker complains, " Do we not daily see that men are accused of heresy for holding that which the fathers held, and that they never are clear, if they find not somewhat in Calvin to justify themselves,"[3] while as late as 1608 Bishop Sanderson tells us that Calvin's *Institutes* were recommended to students at Oxford as " the best and perfectest system of divinity and fittest to be laid as a ground-work in the study of that profession,"[4] Thus Barrett,

" They propose not a reformation, but a substitution, a total subversion of our government and the establishment of their own in its place. We shall now exchange our Book of Common Prayer for their order of service ; their Synods and Pastors, for our Bishops and deacons."

[1] Dr. Usher asserts that Bancroft realised " that the strongest defence of episcopacy lay not in the plea of right, but in the plea of expediency. He maintained that it was an honourable and worthy institution, sanctified by the approval of past ages and proved adequate by the experience and testimony of thousands of able men. He had contended, in fact, that episcopacy was not only permissible but desirable."—*Reconstruction of Eng. Church*, vol. i, pp. 57 and 74.

[2] Bishop Bilson virtually adopted this theory in his treatise, *The Perpetual Government of Christ's Church.*

[3] Preface, *Ecclesiastical Polity*, bk. II, 9, note 2 (edition : Everyman's Library).

[4] Wordsworth, *ut supra*, vol. iv, p. 416 (1839).

who preached at Cambridge in 1595 against the popular doctrines of election and assurance, was compelled to recant his opinions before the university, and was severely reproved by Archbishop Whitgift, who, at the same time, gave his cordial approval to the strongly

The "Lambeth Articles"

Calvinistic "Lambeth Articles"[1] as a guide for theological teaching, declaring them to be "sound doctrine, and uniformally professed in this Church of England, and agreeable to the Articles of Religion established by authority."[2]

These new "Arminian" divines, however, not only maintained their position, but, fortified by the royal patronage which they obtained by advocating the claim asserted by the Stuart kings to arbitrary and irresponsible government, they soon became sufficiently powerful to make a largely successful attempt to expel from the Church all who refused to accept their theological opinions. Thus, under the zealous, but mistaken, ecclesiastical *régime* inaugurated by Archbishop Laud, not only the nonconforming Puritans, but also the conforming clergy of Calvinistic opinions were relentlessly persecuted and driven into opposition, and this rigorous and exclusive policy was one of the direct causes of the tragic but temporary overthrow of both Church and Crown in the middle of the next century.

[1] One of these baldly stated, "It is not placed within the will and power of every man to be saved."

[2] Whitgift's Works, vol. iii, p. 615.

CHAPTER XV

CONCLUSION

Let us in conclusion endeavour to summarise the principal changes, both political and doctrinal, which resulted from the great religious movement or revolution in the sixteenth century. Certainly the most important effect nationally or politically was the repudiation of the supremacy of the Pope, that is the entire rejection of both the temporal and spiritual authority of the Bishop of Rome over the English Church accomplished by the legislation of Henry VIII. This was, as we have seen, confirmed by Elizabeth's Act of Supremacy.

Extent of Roman Canon Law

Although there is good evidence to show that this papal jurisdiction had been gradually usurped during the Middle Ages, and had been often strongly opposed by English kings and parliaments, the change effected by Henry VIII and as set forth in Article XXXVII, was nevertheless a complete reversal of the principles propounded and clearly recognised by English churchmen for several centuries previously. For the statement that " the Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England," and that the King's majesty " hath the chief Government of all Estates of this realm whether they be Ecclesiastical or civil " was entirely opposed to the medieval conception of the

relations of the English Church to the Papacy. In spite of the attempts which were never more than partially successful, of such strong kings as William I, Henry II, Edward I, and Edward III, to assert a royal instead of a papal supreme jurisdiction over the Church, there is little doubt that in the eyes of the vast majority of English ecclesiastics the English Church, as a branch of Catholic Christendom, was regarded as subject to the superior and final authority of the See of St. Peter. Archbishop Becket's claim for the complete immunity of ecclesiastics from the jurisdiction of the civil courts is a good illustration of the general attitude of churchmen on this question. This claim, however, for a virtual independence of the Church Courts was, we must bear in mind, never fully successful; for, as it has been well observed, "Never in England, nor perhaps in any other country, did the State surrender to the ecclesiastical tribunals the whole of that illimitable tract (of spiritual jurisdiction) which was demanded for them by the more reckless of their partisans. Everywhere we see strife and then compromise, and then strife again, and at latest, after the end of the thirteenth century, the State usually got the better in every combat."[1] But, however it was thwarted, this acceptance of the supreme jurisdiction of the papal Curia was the *theory*, and as far as possible the practice, of medieval churchmen. There is no real proof for the modern contention that the English Church was independent of the Roman jurisdiction for several centuries before the Reformation. For as Professor Maitland has pointed out, the Canon Law administered by Bishop Lyndwood

[1] Maitland, *Canon Law in the Church of England*, p. 56.

(1375-1446) and laid down in his *Provinciale* was in all important and governing matters Roman, and only depended in some slight unimportant details on English customs derived from Provincial Courts. Therefore we never see an English "ecclesiastical judge whose hands are free and who has no 'prohibition' to fear (of the secular power) rejecting a decretal because it infringes the law of the English Church or because that Church has not received it"[1] Although there is no doubt that different countries and different dioceses had their own local ecclesiastical customs and rules in certain subsidiary or supplementary matters, yet the *governing* law was that of the jurisprudence of the supreme Papal Court—the *jus commune* of the Catholic Church, for "the English Church was in the eyes of its own judges a dependent fragment whose laws had been imposed upon it from without."[2]

No "New Church" Formed

Thus in trying Sir John Oldcastle for heresy in 1413, Archbishop Arundel declared "Christ hath ordained St. Peter the Apostle to be his Vicar here in earth, whose see is the holy Church of Rome, ordaining and granting the same power that He gave to Peter should succeed to all Peter's successors, the which we now call Popes of Rome. By whose power in Churches particular, be ordained prelates, as archbishops, bishops, curates and other degrees, to whom Christian men ought to obey after the laws of the Church of Rome."[3] We can form some idea of the

[1] Maitland, *ut supra*, p. 84.
[2] Maitland, *ut supra*, p. 44.
[3] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vol. iii, p. 328, and *Fascii Zizan*, p. 442.

change effected by the Reformation in the complete repudiation of papal claims and authority, when we remember that Sir J. Fortescue, the Chief Justice in Henry VI's reign, had declared "that all kings and princes are subject to the Pope in their persons as in their temporalities. He ought to punish them for their negligence and defaults. Thus have popes punished emperors and kings when they have misruled their subjects, as we read in the chronicles of old days. Christ is King of all kings, and Lord of all the world, having in the hands of the Pope his Vicar, both swords, for which he is called 'Rex et Sacerdos,' and compelleth all princes, as well spiritual as temporal, to come to his great councils."[1] It was therefore, a deliberate repudiation of this theory when Henry VIII refused to appear at the Council of Mantua summoned by the Pope in 1537. But although the English Church at the Reformation so fully asserted its independent national character by severing its connection with, and repudiating its allegiance to, the see of Rome, yet it is quite erroneous to speak of it as a *new* Church, or to state that at the Reformation the Romish Church was disestablished and disendowed and a new Protestant Church erected in its stead. For the life of the Church remained unbroken: no new religious body or organisation was created. It is important to remember that those holding the Reformed Faith were not a newly formed Society or sect of English Christians, but comprised the duly and anciently constituted Church of the land. Consequently the original endowments attached to the parish Churches continued for their support. They

[1] Fortescue *Works*, (edit. Clermont), p. 535.

did not dispossess an older and separately organised medieval English Church, for none such existed. It was the same old Church, but reformed. The Creeds, the symbols of the Catholic Faith, were still retained and the government and hierarchy of the Church remained intact.[1] The Church, it is true, recovered its liberty and spiritual independence, so that under the Sovereign as "supreme head or governor" it was able to reform and purify its doctrine, which the State for the first time "established" by law. But even here we must not forget that much of the superstitious or erroneous teaching that was then current had never actually received the formal and official sanction of the Catholic Church.[2] It was only after the separation of the English Church from Rome that the Council of Trent formulated the novel and heretical doctrines summarised in the Creed of Pope Pius IV. Certainly, therefore, Archbishop Bramhall was correct when he declared that "the Church of England before the Reformation and the Church of England after the Reformation are as much the same Church as a garden before it is weeded and after it is weeded is the same garden."[3] It would be as true to assert that the Church of England in Canada would be a new Church and forfeit the title to its existing endowments and property if it should from any cause cease to continue in communion with the see

[1] As a matter of fact the great majority of the English Romanists continued in communion with the National Church until the issue of the papal Bull in 1570, excommunicating and deposing Elizabeth, although some of the more strict had serious scruples about the lawfulness of such action.—See Bayne, *ut supra*, ch. viii.

[2] Thus the Seven Sacraments were not made an article of the Faith in the Roman Church till 1547, at the Council of Trent.

[3] *Works*, vol. i, p. 113 (A.C.L.).

of Canterbury, as to say that a new English Church was created at the Reformation by the repudiation of Papal authority.

The Doctrinal Changes

The Reformation, however, effected far greater changes in the English Church *doctrinally* than politically; for by reaffirming the primitive rule of the sufficiency and final authority of Holy Scripture as the standard of orthodoxy it restored the purity and simplicity of the Catholic Faith. It was thus enabled to reject all the corrupt, superstitious and unscriptural additions to the Faith which had been gradually introduced during the Middle Ages. The Church of Rome in the new Creed promulgated by Pope Pius IV, in 1564, placed the ecclesiastical traditions and the decisions of popes and councils on a level with the authority of Holy Scripture. The Anglican Reformers, on the other hand, by asserting in Article VI the supremacy of the Scriptures, returned to the rule of Faith which was uniformly held by all the Catholic Fathers of the Church during the first six centuries of the Christian era. This appeal to the final authority of Holy Scripture led also to the reaffirmation of the inalienable right of private judgment in interpreting the truths contained in Scripture as opposed to the claim of the Roman Church advanced in the Creed of Pope Pius IV, to be the sole judge of "the true sense and interpretation of the Scriptures." The Reformers exercised this right by carefully studying the Word of God, and rejecting all the medieval doctrines which they considered opposed to its teaching, and by laying down the rule that nothing was to be

believed as an article of the Faith which could not be found in or "proved by Holy Scripture."[1]

This exercise of private judgment was not, however, arbitrary or purely individualistic, for it was limited and guided by the Reformers' appeal to the universal testimony and teaching of the primitive and Catholic Church *wherever this could be clearly ascertained.* Thus the fundamental truths of the Christian Faith which the Early Church had, amidst prolonged controversy, enshrined in the three Creeds were fully accepted, because they could "be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture."[1] Moreover in testing these fundamental articles of belief, the Word of God, as interpreted by the spiritually enlightened conscience, was declared to be the ultimate and final guide for the individual Christian. For the Anglican priest, at his ordination, solemnly declares that he is determined by God's grace not to teach anything "as required of necessity to eternal salvation" except that which he himself is "persuaded may be concluded and proved by the Scripture." The individual was not however allowed arbitrarily to set his own private opinion against the authorised teaching of the Church even on doubtful or non-essential matters, since the "Church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies and authority in controversies of Faith," provided only that it doth not "ordain anything that is contrary to God's word written."[2]

The Appeal to Scripture

This appeal to Scripture necessarily involved a rejection of such medieval perversions of the Faith as the

[1] Article VI.
[2] Articles XX and XXIV.

dogmas of transubstantiation and the propitiatory sacrifice of the Mass[1] which are so strongly condemned in Articles XXVIII and XXXI. It would indeed be quite correct to say that practically it was on the question of these two closely allied doctrines that the whole Reformation movement turned. It was affirmed at the time that if Henry VIII had lived longer he had intended to turn "the Mass into a Communion."[2] But even if we question the truth of such a purpose, which would have involved a complete reversal of his previous policy and principles, there is no doubt whatever that *this* was the main aim and purpose of the Reformers, a fact clearly demonstrated in their new liturgy. As we have already seen, these two questions concerning transubstantiation and the propitiatory sacrifice of the Mass were regarded by the Romanists as the touchstone of orthodoxy or heresy. They were the selected tests which the Convocation of 1554 proposed for the trial of the imprisoned Reformed bishops and on which they were condemned as "heretics." On the other hand Cranmer affirmed that they were the "two chief roots" of the medieval and Romish errors which if "suffered to grow again" would soon over spread "all the ground again with the old errors and superstitions." It is sometimes asserted that "the sacrifices of masses" in which Christ was offered by the priest "for the quick and dead to have remission

Rejection of the Mass

of pain or guilt," condemned by Article XXXI "as

[1] The Sacrifice of the Mass, although for long the current belief, was not authoritatively and dogmatically formulated till 1562 in the Council of Trent.

[2] Burnet, *Hist. of the Reformation*, vol. iii, p. 33.

blasphemous fables," refer only to a popular medieval exaggeration and perversion of Romish teaching of the Mass.[1] It is however clearly evident that they are designed to condemn the current official Roman doctrine, since one of the articles objected to Bishop Ridley at his trial uses similar language, "Thou hast openly affirmed and obstinately maintained that in the Mass is no propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead."[2] Moreover the actual commission given to the medieval priest at his ordination is "receive power to offer sacrifice and celebrate masses both for the living and the dead"; while the Council of Trent definitely teaches the very points which this Article (XXXI) condemns—i.e. the propitiatory offering of Christ for the quick and dead in remission of pain or guilt—and categorically anathematizes the precise statements contained in Article XXXI.[3]

We should also bear in mind that the Elizabethan Reformers were at one with the Edwardian in their wholehearted condemnation of transubstantiation and the Mass. Cranmer had condemned the propitiatory sacrifice of the Mass as "abominable blasphemy."[4] Ridley definitely distinguished between the Mass and the Communion. "I do not take the Mass as it is this day for the Communion of the Church but for a popish device, whereby both the commandment and Institution of our Saviour Christ for the oft frequenting of the remembrance of His death is eluded and the people of God are miserably deluded." "Oh why

[1] "Nor does it (i.e., Article XXXI) condemn the sacrifice of the Mass but the *sacrifices of masses*."—Kidd, *Articles*, p. 245.
[2] Ridley's *Works*, p. 271.
[3] Canons I, II, III, and IV, of September 17th, 1562.
[4] *Works*, vol. i, p. 163.

hast thou," he asks, "overthrown the Lord's Table? Why dost thou daily delude the people masking in thy masses instead of the Lord's holy supper?"[1] Similarly in the ninth of Archbishop Parker's "Eleven Articles" "the doctrine, that maintaineth the mass to be a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead," is strongly condemned as "most ungodly and most injurious" to "Christ's only sufficient sacrifice offered once for ever upon the altar of the cross."[2] Bishop Jewel also describes the Mass as an imagined sacrifice which is "mere injurious." "Howbeit" he says, "if we speak of a sacrifice propitiatory for the satisfaction of sins we have none other but only Christ Jesus, the Son of God upon His cross." On his return to England he writes in 1559 "the country is everywhere *desecrated with the Mass.*"[3]

There is no question that the "Elizabethan Settlement" involved not merely the rejection of certain grossly superstitious and mechanical medieval theories, but the complete overthrow of the doctrine of the Sacrifice of the Mass itself. This was in fact the great dividing line between the Romanists and the Reformers. The re-establishment of the 1552 Prayer Book sounded the death knell of the Mass. Thus in January, 1559, Il Schifanoya wrote "We have no longer masses anywhere except in the houses of the French and Spanish ambassadors."[4] Careful inquiries were made by the bishops in their Visitations whether any "openly or privately say Mass or hear Mass" while

[1] *Works*, pp. 120 and 409.
[2] Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, vol. i, p. 266.
[3] *Works*, vol. i, p. 163, and vol. iii, p. 336; and *Zurich Letters*, vol. ii, p. 10.
[4] *Venetian Calendar*, p. 105.

Popish recusants had to declare in their recantations "I also detest the Mass as abominable sacrilege, being a sacrifice as the Papists term it for the quick and dead."[1] Again in 1581, an Act was passed by which all "who should say or even willingly hear Mass" were liable to imprisonment.[2] A further confirmation of this deliberate repudiation of the Mass is furnished in the seventh Canon of 1640 which states that "at the time of Reforming this Church from that gross superstition of Popery it was carefully provided that all means should be used to root out of the minds of the people . . . the idolatry committed in the Mass; for which cause all Popish altars were demolished . . ." In view of such definite evidence it is amazing that a modern historian can assert that the Church at this time was acting on a consistent policy "of not speaking against the Mass itself, but only against the perversion of it as a private Mass."[3] But one of the chief means of restoring the purity of the Catholic Faith was the reassertion of the right of all believers to be considered as constituting the "Body" or Church of Christ. "The visible Church of Christ is," the Reformers declared in Article XIX, "a congregation of faithful men." A conspicuous evidence of the realisation of this truth was the co-

[1] See, Round, Art. "Sacrifice of the Mass" in *Nineteenth Century*, May, 1897. Bishop Pilkington declares that what constitutes the wickedness and unlawfulness of the Mass is that the papists "will neither give thee bread and wine according to Christ's institution . . . but . . . an idol of their own making which they call their God." *Works*, 171.

[2] 23 Eliz. cap. i.

[3] Frere, *History of Eng. Church*, p. 98. Up till early in Queen Victoria's reign every bishop before he could take his seat in the House of Lords had to condemn the Sacrifice of the Mass as idolatrous. (30 Car. II, c. 1.) (1678).

operation of the laity, by their voice in Parliament, in the passing of the various Acts of Uniformity establishing the Reformed standards of worship, and also by the clause in the Elizabethan Act of Supremacy which fixed the test of orthodoxy not only by the Holy Scriptures and the doctrines of the first four General Councils, but also *by Acts of Parliament*, passed with the assent of Convocation. This assertion of the rights of the laity was in direct opposition to the popular medieval theory which in practice regards the Church as confined to "spiritual" persons (i.e. clergy of various grades only. "To the men of Lyndwood's day, the Church, as commonly conceived, was the hierarchy, the ubiquitous corporation of ecclesiastics of every grade from the lowest to the highest."[1]

Priesthood of Believers

The Reformers, on the other hand, declared that all true believers in Christ were "spiritual" persons, inasmuch as they belonged to the "kingdom of priests," and thus collectively constituted that universal Church of Christ outside of which there can be no salvation. It was this assertion of the priesthood of the laity (so strongly emphasised by Luther) which overthrew the sacerdotal and sacramental system of the Middle Ages, for it declared that grace and pardon could be obtained through personal faith in Christ without the mediation of any priest.

It recognised the individual Christian's right of direct access to God through Christ. He was no longer directed to the obligatory Sacrament of Penance, dispensed solely by the priest, but was instructed that

[1] Ogle, *Canon Law in Medieval England*, p. 193.

through repentance and personal confession of his sins to God he could receive assurance of forgiveness. For as Article XI declared, his justification depended solely on his faith in the merits of Christ and was not the reward, as the medieval Schoolmen had declared, of "works of congruity" or practically earned by "works of condignity."

Thus the aim and purpose of the doctrinal Reformation in England was the restoration of the purity of the Catholic Faith by an appeal to the teaching of Holy Scriptures and primitive antiquity. This was the attitude and position of Cranmer and the Edwardian Reformers, as well as of such great Elizabethan Churchmen as Jewel in his famous challenge to the Romanists at St. Paul's Cross, and Hooker in his celebrated *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*. As Bishop Andrewes well expressed it at the beginning of the next century, "our appeal is to the Ancients, to the very furthest antiquity, the newer the thing is the less we like it, the less new it is the more we are pleased with it."[1] It was the confident boast of the Reformers that, judged by the standard of primitive antiquity, their opponents were the "heretics" while they were the true "Catholics." For they believed, as Bishop Beveridge declared in the next century, that the harmony between the Primitive Church and the Church of England was so complete that "the Anglican is justly and deservedly called the Primitive Church revived in these last times."[2]

[1] *Tortua Torti*, p. 96.
[2] Preface to his *Codex Canonum*.

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